Golden Epistles,

CONTEYNING

varietie of discourse, both *Morall, Philosophicall, and* Diuine: gathered, as well out of the remaynder of Gueuaraes woorkes, as other Authours, Latine, French and Italian.

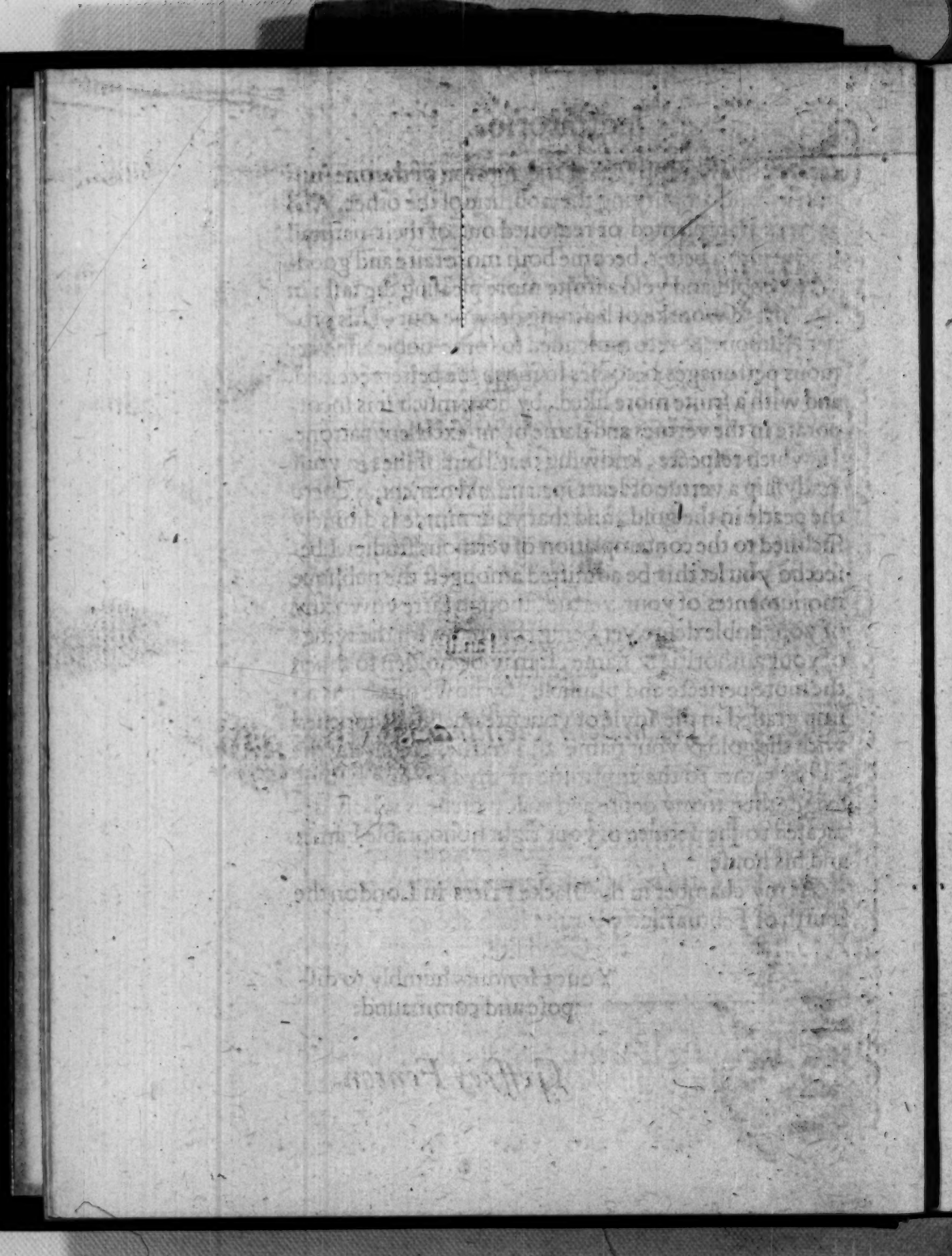
By Geffrey Fenton.

¶ Newly corrected and amended.

Mon heur viendra.

Imprinted at London for *Raph Newberie* dwelling in Fleetestreate a little aboue the Conduite.

1577.



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TO THE RIGHT HO-nourable and vertuous Ladie, Anne *Counteſſe of Oxenford. Geffrey* Fenton deſireth long and Honourable life.

SINCE the firſt creation of men, euery one particularly hath found ſo many calamities and traueils of life, that it hath beene a perpetuall induſtrie in all to ſearch wherin reſted this true & aſſured contentment, which we call felicitie. Some referred it to the proſperitie of riches, and with others it was eſtabliſhed altogether in vertue. Whereof as the one, being but the poſſeſſions of Fortune and therefore both vncerteine & miſerable, brings with it his proper confuſion: ſo, ỹ other aſpiring to immortalitie, hath no ſubiectiō to frailtie or infirmitie, & therfore iuſtifying it ſelf by his owne nature, is worthily adiudged ỹ felicitie which ỹ world ſo much deſireth. What man is poſſeſſed with a ſpirite of vertue, in the ſame man is truly expreſſed the ſimilitude and action of beatitude, the one holding ſuch cōmunitie with the other, that as vertue is the forge whereon this ſouereigne good is wrought, ſo, felicitie is the effect and ſtipende of the ſame, and they both no other thing then

the very heauen and residence of God, wherin the soule is fourmed & created. No man feeleth a perfect tast of felicitie, if withal he embrace not vertue, no more then the sauour of meate is pleasaunt to the sick whose senses suffer imperfection, infirmitie, or error: nor any standeth destitute of beatitude, whose minde communicates with desires and motions of vertue, as to those whose faith is vnfayned and incorrupt, is assured the estate of eternitie and perpetuall patrimonie. This vertue, besides that it is originally administred by diuine influence and grace, hath also his naturall meanes subsisting to his perfection and stabilitie, whiche the auncient followers of Philosophie and wisedome, haue referred to the studie and science of good thinges, as colours best apt and conuenient to blase the true cote and figure of vertue.

Sciences, saye they, prepares mennes mindes to vertue, and all oure thoughtes and motions, beeing made foule by our first corruption, are yet repurged by the qualitie of science and knowledge, as the drosse and scumme of metall is mortified by the industrie of woorkers, to whome the profession apperteyneth: Infinite are the commodities of knowledge and Science, which shining in their particularities as wel in the woorkes of many wise men, as in their life and examples, it agreeth not now to recompt them: Onely, there are fewe who in studie and knowledge finde out notable rules to gouerne the bodie, & excellent doctrines to qualifie the mind, with autentike counsels besides, to exercise the residue of the man in the necessarie consideration of his mortalitie and frailenes. Science traueileth to the fauour of posteritie, and is the assured pro-

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tector of mens actes and monumentes against forgetfulnes and enuie. It is the piller of prosperitie, and infallible retraite and refuge in aduersitie. It fashioneth the rudenes and ignoraunce of youth, and restrayneth the crabbednes of age to modestie and ciuilitie. It inuents counsels to the accomplishment of our affayres, and ministreth to our mindes stabilitie and resolution of courage. Yea Science and knowledge are the very seminarie or seedes, out of which doe bud all our flourishing blossoms of vertue, and wherin our spirites are made able to iudge of high and hard things, and so raised to those holy desires of wel doing, wherin all good men reappose their souereigne contentment.

These happie fruites of Science and learning raise Noble personages into merite and dignitie, and setts a worke excellent wits to record the reputation of their greatnes and vertues, diuiding the doinges of their life some into warninges to auoyde harmes and miseries, and some into preceptes, the better to establishe examples and drawe to imitation. And as aboue all others of oure time, your honour hath beene alwayes right worthily noted a diligent follower of those Artes and studies, whiche best serue to the declaration and glorie of true vertue and pietie: So at the contemplation of the same, I am bold to bring forth (vnder the protection of your Ladyship) this treatise conteyning a morall discourse sorted with Philosophie, and some textes of Diuinitie: Not that I hold it worthy your viewe and iudgement, but (according to good meaning) to vse it as an interpreter of the deuotion and seruice wherein I am vowed to your Ladyshippe and your Honourable house and parents. And where in the intentions of the

writers in theſe dayes this is a lamentable errour, that they conſider not thoſe cuſtomes and good doctrines agreeing with holy vertues and commaundementes of the Lawe of God, but thinke it is a great teſtimonie of their ſingularitie and excellencie to publiſhe vnder fourmes of ſpeache, matter either meerely vaine in it ſelfe, or at leaſt vnfruitefull to the vſe and inſtruction of life: I thought good by the experience of their writinges, not to be ſo curious to ſet out this worke with elegancie of phraſe and Rhetoricke, as to exhibite preceptes to liue well, ioyning to that ſmall eloquence of wordes I haue vſed, a diligence withal to dreſſe and inſtitute conuerſation and manners, the ſame beeing the directe line that leades to vertue, which (without this) is but the figure & image of that it ought to be. Wherin hauing reſpecte to modeſtie, I am farre heere from meaning to challenge the labours of others, and much leſſe ſeeke to obtrude vppon mine owne any dignitie or merite, but referre me and my traueils to the opinion of your Ladyſhip, whome I humbly beſeech, as touching the order and parts of Art in the Booke, to iudge them with that propertie of fauour whiche is wont to conſtrue nothing to blame: and for the textes and precepts whether morall, ciuil, or of diuinitie, your Ladyſhip, in all the woorkes you ſhall reade, can not finde better doctrine, then in the life of your honourable father, in whoſe maner and actions is fulfilled a more ful example of vertue, then in all the rules and ſimilitudes which my penne can deliuer. And as ſtones of rare & precious price expreſſe their luſtrie better in gold then in any other metall: ſo, good and well qualified diſcourſes, are holden ſo much the more noble and deare,

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whome they are presented, the dignitie of the one supporting and amplifying the nobilitie of the other. And as trees transplanted or remoued out of their naturall stocke into a better, become both more faire and goodly to behold, and yeld a fruite more pleasing the tast: in like sort, a woorke of learning drawne out of his proper Authour, & recommended to some noble and vertuous personages, becomes so much the better receiued, and with a fruite more liked, by how much it is incorporate in the vertues and name of an excellent patrone. In which respecte, knowing that there shines in your Ladyship a vertue of learning and iudgement, as doeth the pearle in the gold, and that your minde is diuinely inclined to the contemplation of vertuous studies, I beseeche you let this be admitted amongest the publique monumentes of your vertue, though farre vnworthy of your noble desire, yet, being couered with the wings of your authoritie & name, it may be holden so much the more perfecte and plausible, by howe much it is an imp graffed in the soyle of your greatnesse, & inriched with the gold of your name and vertues: referring the faultes rather to the infirmitie of my skill and knowledge, then to my desire and wil, whiche is wholy dedicated to the seruice of your right honourable Father and his house.

At my chamber in the Blacke Friers in London the fourth of Februarie. 1575.

Your Honours humbly to dispose and commaund:

Geffrey Fenton.

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¶ To the Gouernour *Angulo*, declaring many good doctrines, with other consolations to such as are Widowers.

THe fourth of Ianuarie, I receiued your Letters, which standing albeit more vpon varietie of words than necessitie of matter, yet they well expressed your settled grauitie, & no lesse resembled our auncient friendshippe. Amongest other thinges bearing prayse to your behauiour, I am glad you haue forsaken the warres, and giuen ouer the regiment of *Nauarre*, for that I holde those people harde to reclaime, and not easy to gouerne. And in this cõmon absence of oures, albeit we could not conueniently communicate in the state and partes of our priuate conuersation, yet, for that you were employed out of the realme, I remained alwayes in desire to know how you kept societie with fortune, bicause such are the checkes and mutations which thee brings generally vppon people of the worlde, that the neither dissembleth with the straunger, and much lesse pardoneth such as be naturall. For which cause Cicero writing to his friende Atticus, restraineth one friend to wishe to another more then these three things, To enioy health, to possesse honor, and not to suffer necessitie, the same well expressing a Christian modestie, and truly agreeing with humane reason: For, to him that hath sufficencie to furnish the vse and necessitie of his life, what remaineth to be required more? Who enioyeth cõtinuall health lacketh nothing to make vp the full felicitie of his worldly delights: & what can that man haue lost in this world who neuer lost the reputation of honour? Therfore, neither I for you, nor

Three desires amongst friends.

you to me, are bound to desire more one for another, then to haue health for the solace of our transitorie time: to enioye a competent measure of welth for the administratiō of our life: and to be raised to honour by the which we may reteine reputation. For, as all other thinges are passed to vs by fortune, not to honour vs, but to affront vs: so, Sir, I wish you this moderation, to rest contented with that whiche God hath bestowed of you, and giue him often recompence of humble thankes, for taking you out of so many daungers: for, as muche doe we owe to God for the daungers from whiche he deliuereth vs, as for the greate wealth and dignities wherevnto he hath alwayes raised vs.

The property of Gods loue towardes vs.

God is so good and loues vs with so sweete affection, that alwayes he requireth vs, continually he doth vs good, neuer ceaseth to visite vs, and seldome spareth to aduertise vs: yea, he handleth vs not as our offences deserue, but as his mercy willeth. Euill shoulde it stand with vs sinners, if with the rod of sinne, God should do present iustice, seeing that such is the horror and infamie of sinne, that if immediatly with the fact, God would put vs to punishmēts, our soules would be caried forthwith into the bottoms of hell.

As it is suffered in the high and hidden secrets of God, to dissemble some thinges, to pardon others, and correct the rest: so let vs remember that God vseth no small mercie to him whom he chastiseth in this worlde, since that, to whom he giues no affliction, it seemes he is of him much forgotten. Therefore when God administreth to vs diseases, sorrowes, deathes, and infelicities, they be not thinges wherewith he chastiseth vs, but necessarie matters by the which he visiteth our fraile condition: wherein his intention is not to loase vs, but to admonish vs: not to make vs stumble, but to holde vs from falling: not to poyson vs, but to purge vs: not to make vs slide into sinne, but to cal vs to amendment of behauiour: so that with this full measure of bountie and mercie, he giues vs not onely ý which we aske, but prepares vs more to that whiche he woulde we should demaunde of him. This giues me occasion to smile that our power being little, our selues so small a thing, and our

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knowledge so slender, yet we think, and construe to greate importance all our enterprises, when in deede, that which in our opinion we holde moste profitable, takes sometime a contrary habite, and becomes most hurtful and against vs.

By meanes whereof, the Lord, with good reason, vsing his wonderfull mercie, takes from vs those occasions wherewith we may offend him, & leades vs in the exercise of such things as stand vs in most steede to serue him.

God deales in one sort with the Christian sinner, and in an other māner with the iust man. To ỹ sinner, he pardoneth his offence: and from the iust, he takes away the occasiōs to sinne: by which we finde that we stande more deepely bound to him which suffereth vs not to fall, then to him that lendes vs his hand to helpe vs vp again. Thus much (Sir) to instruct you in patience for the losse of so good a wife, whose death, if you lament in the office of a good husbande, I haue not bene without my sorrowe, according to the dutie of a faithfull friende. And albeit there is no doubt but your wife was a right worthie member of a noble house, and therewithall plentifully repleniſhed with euery condition apperteining to the vertue and modestie of a woman: yet since in her creation she brought with her a subiection to death, I thinke your wisedome is to great, to make that grieuous to you, which nature ordeyneth common to all: yea, if in your wife were fully filled a ful example of all perfection, you cannot in better sorte employe your zeale, then to suffer God to haue his will without grudge. And if you reioyced in the vse of so happie a wife, whilest she liued, let your gladnes still continue, for that you hope she is nowe happily layed vp with God, with whome this is one familiar propertie, that the more honest we be, the lesse while we line, for that being deare to him, he doth the sooner drawe vs to his kingdome. I know that in your wife, God had emplesled a spirite of greate meekenesse to you, made her very acceptable to her neighbours, most plausible to your parentes, and very pitifull to the poore, wherein by how much she was agreeable to all, & her nature hurtfull to none, by so much haue you to hope that she is alreadie in the way to her saluation. But seeing she

That, that is cōmon to al, ought not to be intollerable to one.

is dead, & now set in the place of Gods eternal appointment, and since in the world is no power extreames to raise her, let her rest at quiet in the ioyes of paradise, and resort you hereafter to a resolute patience. Become immediatly carefull for your life, and leaue off those funeralles, and vaine ceremonies for the deade, seeing that if God hath fulfilled his will to call her to him, it is to place her in his tabernacle of eternall rest, and leauing you still in the world, he doth it to none other end but to giue you time of amendment: For where God promiseth to man long and many dayes, it is vnder this warning, that he giue order to the correction of his life. Many times haue I spoken, and written, that the sounde, and noyse of belles, doth not so much benefite the dead, as doe good to those that liue, for that as the dead, beeing without sense are also voide of nature and abilitie to resume remorse, to suche as liue, the belles giue warning of death, as those that are alreadie departed, yea they pronounce that wee shall all be buried, as suche as are already put in the graue, and no more remembrance remaine of vs then of them that lie couered with clay: whiche makes me still maintaine, that albeit to the deade the belles are meerely vnprofitable, yet, to the liuing, they serue as officers to summon vs to the fatal banquet. They call vs to prepare our reckoning, and make vs readie to appeare afore our souereigne iudge to heare our sentence: yea they put vs in remembraunce of the last houre of our miserable life, and then as I know none that wish to haue bene Emperours, so there is no doubt but many desire to haue liued in the state of poore heardemen. But nowe to persuade with you somewhat familiarly, as well to witnesse my good will, as to warne your frailtie, I wishe you to vse patience, not so muche to expresse your grauitie, as to solace the heauinesse of your mind: and by so much haue you neede to call for aide to the spirite of God, by how much the greatnesse of your losse seemes to exceede the resistāce of flesh & blood. Consider that to render retribution is a duetie of nature, & a debt to be payed either in youth, in age, or at other season, & ỹ not in the hand & discretiō of man, but at ỹ will & good pleasure of God, with whom we haue no power to

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tend, for that the thinges whiche he commaundeth ought to be accomplyshed, and what he willeth, is wel worthie to be approued, beeing impossible that hee should exact any vniuste thing, he that is euen the selfe supreme & souereigne iustice. Be it (Syr) that you are sorie for her death, of whom can you redemaund your losse but of death, against whome there is neither prescription nor authoritie? It is hee in whome is wrought the very effect and stipend of sinne, and it is he that is the fearfull tyrant ouer the world, who yeelds no compassion to the teares of men, takes no care of their sighes, scornes at their complaintes, and playeth with their afflictions: hee maketh greate kinges fall as lowe as the ground; he diuides their principalities, destroyeth their heyres: he confoundes the proud and mightie, and ray seth the humble and meeke: he neither pardoneth olde men, nor pityeth the young sorte: yea he hath authoritie to call all men to reckoning, and no man to demaund reason of him. The Philosopher Secundus, beeing asked what death was, answered that it was an eternall sleepe, a terror of riches, a desire of the miserable, a separation of friends, a voyage vncertaine, a robber of men, a beginning of those that liue, and an end of such as dye. Death hath this absolute libertie, to enter where hee list without knocking at the gate: condemne whom he will and not heare them speake, and carrie away what he thinks good, without that euen the highest authoritie either can or dare resist him. Yea, we must be pleased with what hee leaueth vs, and not complaine of that he takes from vs.

Death the verie effect and stipend of sinne.

What death is.

I doubt not but it is grieuous to you to feele the want of so deare a wife, aswell for the solace of your person, as direction of your house and children. But seeing the chaunces of mortal creatures, doe shewe that all men are subiect to the lawe of nature and fortune, and that of necessitie this must passe so: put on a good countenaunce to the world, and shake off al inwarde heauinesse of minde, seeing the care of thinges impossible is vaine, and onely proper to weake men: you knowe also that in this troublesome life, many moe in number are the things that amaze vs, than those that hurt vs: and therefore

Al men subiect to the lawe of nature and fortune.

to weepe much, to sigh often, to sorrow alwayes, to weare attire of dule, to flee societie of friendes, to retire into desolate and priuate places, and to delight in solitarinesse, be in one of your grauitie matters more to be rebuked, than affected, seeing that as too great ioy estraungeth the hart into the like, so for the most parte, much perplexitie and sorrowbring with them the effect of despaire. You ought not for the death of your wife to be negligent in the administration of your house, careless in the state of your health, forgetfull to entertaine the reputation of your honour, nor vnmindeful to direct your reuenue. For the passions and afflictions of the heart, are neuer cured by newe greefes but with the longnes of time. One of the greatest traueils that we suffer in this transitorie race, is, that sorrowes and greefes enter our harts suddainly, which afterwards we cannot expell but with great time and vertue. And therefore we ought not at the first to vrge a troubled mind to forgot his paine, but rather to perswade to moderate it: for that at the beginning the minde receiueth more comforte in debating the harme, than in speaking of the remedie: And therefore to a minde afflicted with greene sorrowes, the best remedie is to deferre them, vntill by time they be more apt to receiue consolation. For as tract of time carrieth with it a law of forgetfulnesse of things past, so to a heart greeued, the true and souereigne plasters are temperance, time, and forgetfulnesse. So that, neither beraule you are a widdower, nor in respect of your passions, you ought to commit to negligence the order of your person, nor the nurture of your children. For as it is no smal folly to weepe for the dead whom we haue no power to recouer, so it can not but be a greate madnesse, to be careless of them that liue standing in the way of perdition. Withal, no man is bound to raise vp againe such as are dead, but euery one is tied to his dutie, to giue succours to them that liue. I hope (sir) you will not lay afore you the example of your neighbour and friend Rodericq, who alone as he was in the state of a widdower, put a viole on his head, eate not vpō any table cloth, was not serued in vessel of siluer, tooke not his seat in a chaire, was not seene to loise out of a window,

Passions of the minde cured with the longnesse of time.

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in two monethes did not wash his face, and in a whole yeare did not lye out of his clothes. All which I alledge to you, not so much to condemne Roderico for his follie past, as to put you in remembraunce that to continue in ceremonies, is to offend God, and abuse the reputation of a wise man. One of the greatest benefites that a man can haue in this life, is, to be thankful to Gods prouidence, and not to attribute any thinge to fortune. The resolute man is neither changed by a froward fortune, nor raised into presumption by any prosperitie, but stands as a tree wel rooted, which albeit is shaken with diuerse windes, yet none can make it fall. And be it ẏ aduersitie make some mutation in goodes, yet it ought not to exchaunge the person, and much lesse haue power ouer our wisedome: For the shamefaste and noble minde looseth much more in loosing that hee deserueth, than if he loste all the goods hee was possest of, by which reason, I accompt that no losse whiche falles in transitorie goods, if, with the losse of them, hee recouer his shame and wisdome. For let not that man thinck hee hath found little, whiche hath found himselfe. It is a thinge to be wondered at, and no lesse worthy of slaunder, that for the losse of any thing of right meane value, men omit no paine nor cost to recouer it: but if they loose shame, patience, continencie, yea & conscience too, they wil neither be sorie for losing them, nor make great search to recouer them.. Oh corrupt nature of ours, which cares not how we faile, and makes lesse reckoning to go the right way, and that which worse is, after wee followed error & are falne from a faire path into a foule puddle, we will not onely not searche to finde our selues, but (according to our ful wickednesse) wee will not see nor confesse that we are lost. All things in this world (what vile and base estimation so euer they beare) we doe not onely make care and coste to keepe them, but also seeke out others to ioyne with vs for their safetie, except our selues: who not onely forbeare to watch and keepe our selues, but also we searche others to helpe to loose vs. I wish you for end, that you giue ouer to be priuate, and enter into the discharge of the requests and legacies of your wife: so shall you expresse a dearer remembrance

of her, thā with all the funerall ceremonies you can vse: for as she keepes now no reckoning whether you are serued vpon a table, sit in a chaire or vse your other obseruations of dignitie, so you can not yeelde a more worthy recompence to the affection she bare you, than to visite hospitalles, & haunt sermons, and rather expresse the office of a true christian, than mourne in the habite of a pitifull widower. From Logronio the xj. of August. 1523.

¶ To Syr Peter Gyron, banished into Oran, comforting such as liue in exile.

IT is writen in the wonderful visions of the prophet Daniel, that two Angels disputing afore God, the one maintained that it was not meete to put the Hebrues in libertie, least they were conuerted to the Persians, and the other proued it necessarie to giue them licence, to the end they might do sacrifice, and reedifie the temple of Ierusalem: by whiche may be inferred, that that whiche amongst the wicked is called stubburnes, with the good sorte is named zeale. This I write to bring into discourse the cōtents of your fathers letter & yours, in whiche I finde suche contrarietie, that it is harde to iudge which is greater, whether the sorowe of the father, or the constant mind of the sonne. The father expressed great heauinesse seeing his sonne sent into exile, vsing the nature of a pitiful father: & the sonne (according to the propertie of a noble minde) beares this disgrace without grudge or griefe. If this banishment had pleased your father, and you likewise had declared signes of disdaine and despight, he had abused the dignitie of a father, and you transgressed the law of a valiant Knight: but seeing you both performe that whiche you ought, you haue no reason to distrust of that which you desire. For my part, to satisfie the dutie I owe to the one, and exercise the good will I beare to the other, I thought it agreeing with your estate, & my professiō, to recōmend vnto you these particular instructions, which if you finde tedious to read, you shall at least feele wholesome to obserue, especially conteyning pointes of consola-

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solation in your present banishment. Now is the time where in you are to call into exercise your auncient wisedome to gouerne you, your settled discretion to minister consolation, and your valiaunt minde to entertaine the reputation of your honour by some woorthe enterprise: whiche three things if you omit, you shall be holden a banished man euen in your owne cittie, where putting them in execution being exiled, you shal be sure to increase the renowme of a valiant knight. It is a vertuous disposition to yeld cõpassion to the afflicted, but nature moste of all doeth chalenge it of those, who proning an estate of necessitie, haue found comforte in others. And albeit one friend can giue no more to another, than to remedie his necessities, and comfort his aduersities: yet the woordes of a friend doe giue life to the hart of his friend, if to the same be ioyned effectes of true affection. And as prosperitie and aduersitie haue such societie by kinde, that the one followeth the other, as the shade doeth the man, so also such perplexities as are fastened within a harte, are hardly forgotten but with the passions of another minde that languisheth, according to this example. At the death of the only sonne of Diomedes a Greke (and vppon whome depended the possibilitie of succession) there appeared to this mourning father many affections of many his noble friendes: amongst the presse of others that came to visit and comfort his sorrowes, there resorted a poore woman demaunding iustice. Diomedes seeing her weepe, and as it were accompanie him in his sorrowful mood, and his other friendes to deliuer onely reasons of consolation without teares, tolde them, that albeit his eares had receiued the impression of their woordes, yet none had made passage into his hearte, but the sorrowfull compassion of that simple woman, in whome I receiued (saith hee) so muche the more comfort, by how much I see her hearte suffereth the selfe same sorrowes, which by effect I feele. According to the conformitie of this aunswere (Syr) you may iudge my disposition, and therewithall take occasion to giue faithe to my woorden, and beleeue the affection of my heart. For by the faithe of a friende, I sweare vnto you, that as I haue alwayes followed

The bonde of a friend.

you with an vnfeined zeale, so your present misfortune stands in suche compassion with me, that if to my want were ioyned wealth, & with my wil were matched conuenient liberty, you should knowe that though I am innocent of your fault, yet I would be partener of your paine: or if as you stand in ful power to distribute & dispose your goods, you had also the facultie to impart your perplexities, the worlde should be iudge whether my friendship stretche to affecte your goodes, or to communicate with your fortune and calamitie. And as I can not but confesse that you haue alwayes expressed towards me one perpetuall nobilitie and bountie of minde, so I hope you will not denie but I haue retributed that recompence which belonges to the power of so poore a friende. But as I knowe you haue this propertie in nature, to keepe in continuall memorie the good turnes you receiue of others: so, if I forget the benefites whiche you haue bestowed of me, let my profession suffer indignitie, by the whiche I holde the countenance of my reputation: and so will I wade no further in protestation, since great offers are vsed amongst straungers, and good deedes ought to be familiar with true meaning friendes. I know this banishment may breede you some conceit by the opinion whiche this court may haue of you, and I doubt not but as much the ioye of your enimies will despight you, as the displeasure of your friendes will grieue you, for that (in a chance of calamitie) most men are more sorie for that their enimies can say, than for the martyrdome they indure. Plutarch in his Apophthegmaes, recites of a famous capteine and louer of the Lacedæmonians, to whome a certeine reader of the Atheniens making his complaint, that the men at armes in his campe reproched them of Athens, answered, that as the thing that is well kept is hardly lost, and that nothing prouokes the theefe sooner than negligence, so if the Atheniens had tied care and circumspection to their wordes and actions, they had neither falne into the mouthes of the Lacedæmonians, nor feared their malice. Iob sayth: *Factus sum mihi met ipsi grauis*, meaning that the misaduentures and disgraces which happen to vs for the most part, our selues do searche them. For as the power of fortune

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is to doe more harme in one houre, than good in many hundreth yeares, so when the chaunge falleth, it blindes our eyes that we cannot discerne it, and binds our hands that wee cannot helpe it, making vs instrumentes euen against our selues in the execution of our proper mishap. But for your parte (sir) if you had either followed my direction, or ioyned your selfe to the aduise of the Constable your deare vncle, the ignorannce and rashnesse of your hoat youth, had not caried you thus farr to your owne raine, yea, you had preuented that whiche now with paine you suffer. The vengeaunce which you sought to take, ought not to be grounded vpon so small occasion, seeing oftentimes reason demaunds execution of a thing, which time will not suffer to be done, by which meanes are spoyled many particular causes, not for that they were not iust, but because they were not followed in season. For as cõuenient is the obseruation of time and place to prosecute a businesse, as in due season to throwe the seede into the earth, to the end to haue a good harnest. Therefore in your quarel or pretence of action to the dukedome of Medina Sidonia, much better had it becõe the vertue of a noble Gentleman, and farre more suretie to your title, to haue demanded it in Parleament by iustice, than to recommend your selfe to the Bishop of Camore. I haue often tolde you that tyrants commit their triall to Armes, and the iust sorte referre their causes to the arbitrement of the lawes: Euen so, when I sawe you ioyne your selfe to that good Bishop, I felt great coniecture of the ill successe of your cause, in which I doubted not but he would raise occasion, to vndoe you, that earst made no conscience to put in perill the whole realme, disobey the king, deceiue his confederates, and dissemble euen with his owne opinion. For where in one man doe meete incertaintie of affection, and malice of nature, there is no other hope in that man, than distrust, periurie, murders, and reuenge. I put you in remembrance of all these, more to reprehend you than to comfort you, and withall to reduce to your knowledge, that if you suffer any present affliction, thinke it is for no offence presently committed, but for the fault that then you did. For as euery offence hath his punishment, so

Men are the instrumentes of their owne mishappes.

Tyrantes vse triall by armes but the iust sort referre their causes to the arbitremet of the lawes

God

God being bound to no time, vseth to visit our olde insolencies, euen when we account our selues most innocent. More easie it is to your wise friendes, to suffer your banishment obeying the Prince, than to see you Duke of Medina with the displeasure of his maiestie. And farre better shall you expresse that whiche is looked for of you if simplie you attribute to the infirmitie of your discretion, that whiche in good equitie can not but carrie the verie nature and habite of a great fault. Oh how wel doth it become the reputation of a valiant knight to deserue to be holden gratious in the sight of his prince, & with good & true seruices to enterteine the estate and fauour he hathe of him, expressing alwayes this true effecte and example of readie obedience, that if either in the Court, the kingdome, or any dominion of the Prince, there moue any faction, trouble, quarell, tumult, or mutinie: he may with libertie be heard speake, and giue occasion to be employed: but not of himselfe to practise secrete confederacie, nor yet without authoritie to intrude himselfe into the counsell or managing of affayres of estate! For the businesse of kingdomes conteine in them many secrete difficulties, more daungerous to be reformed, than easie to weeld, which wee see daily in sundrie common weales euil gouerned, and worse reformed, for that, for the most part, the popular sort is readie to reuolt, and very hard to be appeased. Great paine had Catiline to reforme Rome, Socrates Athens, Ptolome Pentapolis, Promotheus Egypt, and Plato the Sicylians: but in the ende of all these enterprises, where some of these noble men escaped death, the rest suffered banishment, and their common weales notwithstanding in more broile than before. But now to the matter of your exile, and the remedies proper to men in your fortune. In whiche if I satisfie not your passion, I doubt not but the lawe of our friendship wil lead you to iudge well of my reasons, assuring you that I had rather succour you than comfort you. Weighing (Syr) with your present condition being banished in Afrike, the consideration that you are of the free countrie of Spaine, I doubt not but the remembraunce of the pleasures you haue passed in Spaine, will make this exchaunge more painefull to you being nowe

For banished men.

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restrained in Afrike, for the loue of our countrie is so naturall to vs, and we so parciall in our proper affections, that albeit fortune make vs forsake our natiue countrie, yet nature will neuer suffer vs to forget it: yea so great a vehemencie hath the loue whiche moste men beare to their naturall climates, that they wil rather endure any iniurie against their persons, than to heare their countries euill spoken off, the same parciallitie proceeding for that men do not acknowledge that they are of the earth, liue in the earth, and must returne to the earth: whē there is nothing belonging vnto them, but that which they cary with them to their graue. Socrates instructed his disciples not to attribute to thēselues any particular place or countrie: for (saith he) albeit the eternall prouidence giues vs peculiar meanes to cloath vs, and priuate houses to defend the iniurie and passions of the ayre, yet nature hath left to vs all in common the vniuersall earth, which since, by the ambition of men hath bene diuided into cantles. Plutarche in his bookes of exile, reports that Hercules ỳ Theban beeing asked by the Sidonians of what countrie he was, answered: I am neither of Thebes, Athens, nor Lycaonia, but naturally of the whole countrie of Greece. Socrates seemes to be of the same opinion to the greate Sacrificator Archytas, by whom being asked of what place he was, he answered that he was borne in the worlde, and a naturall heire of all the worlde. Plutarche rehearseth also that in the Isle of Cobde in Greece, was a linage of Græcians called Agites, descended of that notable Greeke Captein called Agis the good. Amongst these Agites this lawe was specially obserued, that none durst call himself naturall of the Isle, vnlesse he had done some valiant act, meaning that it is the countrie that ought to be commended for bringing forth suche men, and not the people to be prayed to be either of this or that Region. So that (Sir) for my part, ioyning my selfe to the manner of these Islande men, me thinks I haue greater reason to esteeme you a valiant African, than a vertuous Spanishe knight, seeing ỳ the honour whiche you lost in Spaine, you haue recouered in Afrike: yea, if you conferr ỳ vanities which you vsed in Spaine wᵭ the exercise you follow now in Afrike, you shal finde that

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banishment, better than eaſe, doth lead you to iudge of the pre-cious value and eſtimation of time, yea, it will miniſter this diſcretion to you, that if you feele any paſſion, it will appeare to you more by opinion, than by reaſon. In Spaine you were noted to be a painefull follower of the pleaſures of the fielde, a pleaſant deuiſer with Ladies, a ſweete companion at ſump-tuous banquets, giuen ouer to the diſorders of the Court, to go to bed at mid-night and riſe at mid-day, all which, though they be delightes of a young courtier, yet they are no exerciſes of a valiaunt knight: for the titles and vertuous renowmes of our Auncestors, were not gotten by enterprizes of hawking and hunting, but with ſeruing their kinges in the daungers of warres. The exercise which we are towe you follow nowe in Orane, as to be ſtirring earely, to breake your faſt ſtanding and whileſt your armour is in lacеing, to be readie with the foremoſt to diſtreſſe the Turkes, to acquaint your eare with the muſicke of the trompet, to be painfull to march, & diſcrete to followe, and in all enterprizes, to giue example of courage to your ſouldiours: out of theſe differences you may gather, whether it is more agreeable to your renowme, and profitable to your eſtate, to be eſteemed a valiant Capteine, or an amo-rous Courtier. Beſides, in Spaine you could but recite the deeds of others, and nowe the whole court is in diſcourſe of the daungers you eſcape. Writers of hiſtories are tied to the fac-tes of particular men, and to erpreſſe in their Chronicles, that in ſuch a time ſuch a thing was done, in ſuch a ſeaſon ſuch an enterprize performed: but it belonges to the honour of a good knight, not onely to ſay, I was a leader in ſuch a war, but alſo to beare vpon his body the ſignes of the perils he had paſt. So that in conſideration of the ſucceſſe of this banishment, I ſee not but that it is a fortune neceſſarie, and an eſtate working glory to your houſe, and giues no occaſion of griefe to your perſon: for right bleſſed is that martyrdome, by whoſe paines we are paſſed into greater perfection. The Conſul Siluanus holding part with the Sillans, in full Senate reproched Mari-us ſcornefully, that he was to ambitious of honour, beeing ſo baſe of linage: To whom Marius anſwered, I confeſſe (ſayth he)

Hippie is the puniſhmēt by the which we are paſſed into greater perfec tion.

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he) that thou art more auncienthy descended than I: euen so I can not deny but that I am better man than thou, because, where thy house is not furnished but with painted armories which thou hast inherited of thy auncestors, thou mayest see in mine many streaming insignes which I haue wone with the perill of my life. Then thinke your selfe happy, for that in Spaine you were no better than Siluanus, but in Afrike you are equall in prowesse with Marius, with whom, in place of painted armories wherewith you were wont to hange your house in Spaine, you shal now returne not onely with insignes besprent with blood, but also exprelling your triumphes ouer the common enimie of Christian faith. There hath bene in the ages past many great personages, who no lesse desirous of renowme, than willing to win it by vertue, did not only not grudge when they were banished by authoritie, but also of thē selues and for them selues made a willing choice of exile, following the opinion and example of the right worthy Captaine Alcibiades, who in his familiar deuice was wont to say, that few men in their naturalitie or simple nature become vertuous: but the most sorte following the passions of nature, slide into many vices, accordinge to the experience of a tree farre brought and new replanted, which brings forth fruite of farre more swete and precious tast than others: euen so more glorie and renowme do follow noble men and mindes resolute in straunge and far regions, than in their proper naturall countries: yea, they had rather die poore abroade, than return home loaden with welth, and light with honour. Was not king Pyrrhus borne in a village of Athens, and afterwardes was called Pyrrhus the Epirote, for that he vanquished that people? Was not the god Scipio bred vp in a towne of Campania, to whom after was added the syrname of Africanus, as subduing those regions? Octauius Augustus was nourished in a village of Belistre, and after was raised to the title of Octauius Germanicus, because he triumphed ouer the Almanes. And the god Titus was founde in a poore village of Campania, and after was called Titus Palestinus, for preuailing ouer the Palestines. Infinite is the number of such as haue sought fame

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No fortune can resist him to whome nature hath giuē magnanimitie of minde.

in forreigne regions, but more immortall and perpetuall is the memorie of the enterprises which by the greatnes of their courage they atchiued. For as no fortune can resiste him to whom nature hath giuen magnanimitie of minde: so whether at home or abroad, who is more wretched thā he that esteemes himselfe vnhappy by the reputation of his courage? Many and many were the personages in the worlde past, who springing of base and darke place, of smal renowne, and lesse welth, haue with the fortune of their banishment in countries farre remoued, exalted their linage, brought honoure to their countries, reputation to their posteritie, and richesse to them selues. The valiant Themistocles, and great captein Phalaris, with great ignominy to their persons, and spoyle of their goods, were banished out of Athens, and chased out of all Greece: yet such equitie of mēde followed their iuste vertues, that by the grace and fauour of kinge Ptolome in Alexandria, they returned home with no lesse fame and honoure to their countrie, than loaden with richesse to the increase of their familie: yea, Themistocles vsed oftentimes to saye familiarly to his wife and children, Perieramus omnino nisi periissemus, as who should say, If they had not bēen pulled into the perplexities of banishment, they had vtterly perished. For fortune oftentimes playeth with banished men, as doth the distiller of waters with his glasses or earthen pots, whom he takes downe, not to breake or leaue them, but to fill them and set them vp. With this example, we may apply the misfortune of Ioseph the sonne of Iacob, in whose fall was wrought the meane to the Israelites, that afterwardes he was made Lord ouer the whole countrie of Aegypt, & helper of the Hebrues. That which sometimes sēmes to a man heauie and sorrowfull, bēcomes oftentimes the meane of his comforte and gladnesse, and the same that in the beginning seemeth to worke his disgrace, breds at the last the very effect of his desired fortune: euen as to him that thinketh himselfe in the right path, it happeneth that he is out of the way, as others supposing themselues to be misse-led and gone astray, are notwithstanding in the high way to their felicitie. Camilla for a disgrace happening to him in Rome, was banished

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shed into Campania, where his vertues & seruice in ỹ warres of ỹ countrie succéded so happily with him, that he returned to Rome, not as an offender, but in great triumph as Emperour. The iust and noble emperour Traian, being banished out of Italie and withdrawne to the citie of Agrippina, was adopted heire of the empire there by the emperour Nerua, his vncle, who communicated with him the insignes of the emperiall estate: by which change and chaunce of fortune, Traian would often say to his familiars, that the banishment which Domitian iudged him to, was his onely solicitour to the empire. All these histories together with ỹ examples as wel of such as chosed banishment to winne true renowne, as of others ỹ fel into exile by fault & sentence, I haue reduced (sir) to your memorie, to ỹ end that by their wisdome you should take comfort, and in their courage folow the example of their enterprises. For as the doinges of others are but warnings to vs to direct wel our estates: so it cannot be but vaine, to represent vnto you the banishments they suffered, if you expresse not in youre fortune ỹ resolute mind which led them to ỹ throne of their estimation. If you shew the true value & cõstancie of mind duely appertaining to a christian knight, you may with the opportunitie of ỹ warres now against the Turke, deserue to returne to Spaine, with as great honour as Camilla was receiued into Rome. It behoueth you in that warre of Afrike to be liberall, secret, courageous, and modest, so shall all suche as are sorie for the fault you haue made here, be recompenced with gladnesse in the effectes of your worthie behauiour there. Say with Diogenes, that as they banish you out of Spaine, so you banishe thẽ out of Afrike: so, shall they in short time returne to compassion for that they make you to suffer, & you in the meane while beare with patience ỹ iniurie you suppose is done to you. For men not accustomed to aduersitie haue least rule ouer their passions, and such as neuer fealt but prosperitie, can little iudge of the worthinesse of patience. I pray you vse this modestie in the letters you write hither, that neither the king may perceiue that you are grieued with his sentence, nor your enimies vnderstand your euill lyking to that place: For no

Men not accustomed to aduersitie, haue least rule ouer their passions.

lesse will they reioyce to heare you abhorred there, then they were readie to procure your banishement from your friendes and countrie here.

Priuileges of banished men.

Such (Sir) as suffer exile, haue many notable priueleges, which being incident to men, in that estate, it is necessarie you knowe some, to the end you may take benefite of the best. It is a prerogatiue to men exiled, that they stand in grace of pitie with euerie one, and seldome maliced of any, for that in common experience men most naturally beare grudge to such as liue in wealth, and pitie such as are farre remoued from their comfort. Banished men during the time of their restraint are exempted frō all importunities of such as borrow mony, since no man nædes to doubt but the man exiled hath for the moste part, want of mony, and plentie of perplexities. Suche as are banished haue libertie to borrow of others without eyther blushing or blot of conscience, for that their goods are confisced, and they farre from the succour of their friendes, they are the men that most stand in næde of the compassion of the worlde.

It is suffered to the banished man, to write into his countrie that he is sicke, when he enioyeth health: that he is in sorrow for his house, though he fæle no remembrance thereof: and that he is poore, when he hath full plentie: and al to the end the prince shoulde the soner pardon his fault, and his friendes the more readily succour his wantes.

The banished man, without breach of honour, may be suffered to breake promise, being sufficient to acknowledge the fauours done to him, and to offer, when he is restored, recompence according to the bountie of a gentleman. The banished man (without staine to his honour) hath libertie to liue in meane countenaunce, for that amongest good men his case is pitied, and with the wise no other port expected then according to the rate and measure of his fortune.

The banished man is not subiect to the terrours of law and iustice, for that being so farre from his aduersaries, he maye sleepe without feare, and rise without care: he is free from the variable customes and complexions of his wyfe, from ỳ griefe of the ill demeanour of his children, and from the distrust of of his seruauntes, the same being such a comfort peculiar only

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to exiles, that many woulde be gladde to exchaunge their free condition, for the felicities of such banishment. The banished man stands exempt from all impostes & tributes, as in whose estate is sufficient griefe without necessitie of other affliction.

The banished man being farre from his friends, liues not in care of their calamities, & is not called to be a partener of ther quarelles, whiche libertie many seeke for, who aunswere for many, follow many, and spend much of many, not of frank will, but to performe the duetie they haue professed. Many more are the prerogatiues of exile, which you may boldly chalenge and enioy in Afrike, and we by no right can demaunde in Spaine. And yet I doubt not, but more deare shoulde be to you the Kinges pardon to returne home, then all these goodly priuileges which to your great comfort you enioy in Afrike. For the puddle-water in our owne countrie carrieth a more sweet taste, then the most pleasant fountaine in any forreigne region. Let this be your solace for the time, to serue and hope in God, to the end he may leade the mind of the prince to consent to your liberty, wherein there shal want no furtherance, which either the authoritie of your friendes, or my continual counsell may bring to passe.

¶ To Don Frederique of Portugal, Archebishop of Sarrogoce, and Viceroy of Catheliogne: wherein the Authour recommendes to him a letter of the Emperour M. Aurelius.

IN the selfe same yeare wherein the Prophet Ieremie bewailed in Ierusalem the captiuitie of his people ledd into Babylon, reigned in Bithinia the cruell king Dracon, a man of deepe policie in affaires of estate, and no lesse valiant to beare and resist the rigoures of fortune, but withal so seuere in his commaundementes, that it may be doubted whether the lawes he instituted conteyned more crueltie to his subiectes, then commoditie to his kingdomes. For amongest other statutes or streight politiques, he ordeined this lawe, that

A lawe to punish vnthankfulnesse by death.

one neighbour hauing receiued of another any good turne, and afterwardes was founde vnthankful eyther to requite or confesse it, such one was punished with death. For as this is a propertie annexed to the good nature, to forget the benefites he doth himselfe, and keepe in continuall memorie the graces he hath receiued of others: so to adde impunitie to ingratitude, is to corrupt the world, euen as in other offences, to restraine iustice is to support sinne and suffer insolencie, whiche is the greatest errour that can happen in gouernement. This I say (Sir) to put my self in remembrance of ỳ manifold benefites I haue receiued by you, wherevnto, hauing no power of recompence, at least I should forbeare to acknowledge thē, I cānot auoyd ỳ merit of Dracons Law. For there can be no such iniurie offered to a frée minde and a bashfull face, then to be called vnthanckfull, since suche reproches sincke moste dœpely into the reputation of honour: so that, though my power be small, and my possibilitie lesse, yet I will so honour the remembrance of your benefites, that in my will shall be founde no blame of ingratitude, nor in my life, any suspicion of honest friendship.

At our last being together, you made me sweare of graunt to that you demanded, without either libertie of excuse, or being made priuie to what you woulde aske, wherein as your lordship was somwhat too importunate, so I was not enough discrete: for that greater is the reason to examine a demaund, then to consent to fulfill it. But touching your request, to pen for you some Letters of M. Aurelius, I knowe not how I shal satisfie your desire, vnlesse you reforme your demaunde: for that of his moral writings, I haue none, but eyther those whiche are alreadie published, or such as he left vnperfect: and for others, whiche, in the rage of his youth, he wrote to his amorous friends, as I haue alreadie published some by ỳ persuasions of my priuate friends: so, albeit at ỳ time their importunities enforced my will, yet it behoueth me nowe not to abuse the duetie of my profession, wherein, aswel by the habite of religion, as my faculte of a Diuine, I craue to be excused from writing such vanities, since, besides the offence to my grauitie, the example cannot but bring hurt to the chaste mindes of

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young princes and great Ladies. But because as neere as I can, I will be thankfull to your request, and leaue you satisfied of my good meaning, I haue sent you the translation of one of his letters, wherein you may iudge with what fidelitie he entertayned his friends, since he vsed such charitie and compassion to his enimies.

M. Aurelius to Popilion captaine of the Parthies.

I cannot denie the glorie I haue obteined by this battell, and much lesse hide the perplexitie I feele for thy present misfortune: for noble minds are bound to shew no lesse compassion to such as are subdued, then to expresse ioy and gladnesse with those that are victors. Thou (being chiefe of the Parthies) didst shew great courage to resist, and in me the leader of the Romanes was found no want of force to fight, notwithstanding though thou lost the battel, and I remaine possessed of the victorie, yet as I knowe thou wilt not acknowledge this chaunce to happen by any want of stomach in thée, so, it belonges to my grauitie, not to attribute it altogether to the greatnes of my vertue, since God doth alwayes minister victories, not to such as do their duties best, but to those that he loueth most: for the effect of all thinges depending vppon God, man can haue no power to commaund the destinie of a battell, seeing he is not able to stay the course of the least planet in heauen. Darius against Alexander, Pompeius against Cæsar, and Hannibal against Scipio, had aboue all equalitie, farre greater armies then their enimies: by which thou hast reason to conclude with me, that against the anger of the souereigne God, cannot preuaile most huge and mightie hoastes. I meruaile (Popilion) that being great in birth, valiant of stomach, wealthie in goodes, and mightie in estate and dignitie, why thou beares with such sorrow the losse of this battel, seing that in no worldly thing fortune is more incertaine and variable, then in the action of warre. It is told mée thou withdrawest to solitarie corners, and seekest out shaded places, thou eschuest the conuersation of men, and complaynest of the Gods, which extreme perplexities since thou were not wont to suffer in others, much lesse oughtest thou to giue place to them in thy selfe: for that the valiant man loseth no reputation for that

God giues victories not to such as fight most, but where hee loueth best.

Fortune is most variable in the action of warre.

fortune faileth him, but is the lesse esteemed if he want discretion to beare her mutabilitie. To assemble great armies is the office of princes, to leuie huge treasures belonges to soueraigne magistrates, to strike the enimie is the part of a couragious Capteine, but to suffer infirmities, and dissemble mishaps, is a propertie duely annexed to noble & resolute mindes. So that one of the greatest vertues that worldly men can expresse in their common behauiour of this life, is neither to rise proud by prosperitie, nor fall into despaire by aduersitie. For Fortune hath a free will to come and goe when she list. Fortune hauing a free will to come and goe when she list, the wise man ought not to be sorie to lose her, nor reioyce to hold her. Such as in their miserie shew beauie countenaunce, doe well proue that they made account to be alwayes in prosperitie, which is a great follie to thincke, and no lesse simplicitie to hope for: seeing the giftes and graces of Fortune haue no other thing more certeine in them, then to be (for ỳ most part) in all thinges most incertaine, according to the successe of that day wherein thou gauest me battell. For there thou orderedst thy campe according to a wise capteine, madest choice of the place in great policie, and tookest the aduauntage of the sunne, as a leader of long experience: in consideration of whiche thinges, thou hast cause to complaine against thy fortune whiche fauoured not thy vertue, and not to blame thy discretion wherein can be found no error. Consider that in wise & graue men, it is an office, that if they cannot do that they wil, at least they yéeld to time, and are content with that they may. And as the vertuous and valiant minde ought not to grieue for not obteyning that which he would, but because he desired that which he ought not: so, Popilion, I wish thée take héede, that the honour which so many times thou hast won with the hazard of thy valiant person in enterprises of warre, be not lost at this present for want of bearing wel thy fortune, assuring thée that he beares his miserie best that hides it most. He beares his miserie best that hydes it most. And as of al voluble things there is nothing more light then renown, so in cases of warre and hazard, it is not enough for the valiant man to doe what he may, but also he is bound to attempt nothing but what he ought; for aswell the consideration, as

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the execution of a facte, belonges duely to a discrete minde. If heare thou wanderest here and there in great incertaintie of mind, fearing that if thou be taken of my souldiers, thou shalt be euill intreated of me, which if no man haue told thee, it is against reason thou belaue it of thy selfe, because to vs princes of Rome, it is familiar to shew our liberalitie to such as yeld to vs, and with others that are our prisoners to communicate in great clemencie. We raise armies against campes prouidly furnished, and cities strongly walled: but to capteines in thy condition, wee hold it more honourable to minister comfort, then to add increase of affliction. For as it sufficeth the valiant capteine to fight against the aduersarie that resistes him, and dissemble with him that flieth, so ỹ wise man ought to require no more of his enimie, then that he acknowlege that he stands in feare of him. For if he feare him, it is a good argument that he may be in suretie of him, because to daunted and timorous heartes, is seldome left courage to renewe an enterprise: and therefore a man takes a greater reuenge when he puts his enimie to flight, then if he take his life from him. For the sword dispatcheth a man in a day, but feare and remorse torment the minde continually: and better were it to suffer without feare that which we expect in griefe and sorrow, then by feare, to be alwayes in martyrdome. It is right terrible to flesh and bloud to die of a sword, but to be in perpetuall sorrow and disquietnes of minde, is the verie furie and tormentes of hell.

It is better to suffer that we feare, then by feare to be alwayes in martyrdome.

If thou eschuest my presence, in feare that I will not vse pitie to thee, thou art abused in the opinion of my disposition, and doest wrong to the reputation and experience of my actions past. For, I neuer refused to shewe mercie to him that asked it, and much lesse deceiued the expectation of him that put his trust in mee.

The doubt and feare that thus traueile thy mind, ought not to be so much of my person, as of the custome of Fortune, who vseth not to vnlose her sharpe arrowes with better will against any, then such as thincke to be in most securitie of her, her nature being such as not to meddle wᵭ those that she findes prepared to the better to assure them, but followeth ỹ fearefull

negligent, to the end to deceiue them: yea, she prevailes euer ouer the counsels & actions of men, and being exempt to make reckoning to any, her prerogatiue is to require accompt of all men. I assure thée, Popilion, that more do I feare the reuolution of Fortune at this houre, then I doubted her afore ỳ battel. For she delites not so much to keepe vnder the vanquished, as to bridle and checke the victors: and worse doeth she meane when she smiles the fairest, then when she frownes most. But now to speake on thy behalfe, I tell thée, that without daunger thou mayst resort to my presence, since in thy estate is no cause of suspicion, and in my heart no malice to thy person. For indeed that cānot be called true victorie, which brings not with it some clemencie: and therefore he cannot be named victorious, in whome resteth intent of rigor and crueltie. For Alexander, Iulius Augustus, Titus, and Traianus, wonne more renowne by the clemencie they vsed to their enimies, then by al the victories they obteined in straunge regions. To obteine a victorie is a thing naturall and humane, but to giue pardon and life, is the gift and blessing of God, by whiche it comes to passe, that men esteeme not so much ỳ greatnes of the immortall God for the punishmentes he doth, as for the mercie he vseth: notwithstanding, as I cannot denie but that great is the value and estimation whiche we Romane princes make of a victorie wonne by battel, so also, I assure thée, we hold it more honourable to pardon such as offend vs, then to chastise those that resist our power. Therefore, if thou flie from my presence, as fearing the iustice which I haue executed vpon ỳ Romanes, thou oughtest to take securitie and courage euen in that which makes thée iealous and doubtfull. For so much greater ought to be the clemencie, by how much the offender is in fault: and therefore as there is no offence which cannot be either forgiuen or fauoured, so right worthily may that pardon be called honourable and famous, which is giuen to an iniurie malicious and manifest: since all other common and light wronges, with greater reason we may say we dissemble them, then that we pardon them.

The thing that most drawes me to enter friendshipp with

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thée, is, for that in our last capitulations and truce, thou performedst all that was concluded for the peace, and yet in the battell, expressedst the partes of a valiant capitaine: the same giuing me cause to beliene, that as in the warres I found thée a iust enimie, so in time of peace thou wouldest proue an assured friend. Alexander neuer repented the pardon he gaue to Diomedes the tyrant, nor M. Anton. the fauour he shewed to the great oratour Cicero, neither shall I haue cause (I hope) to forethinke the respit I giue to thy life. For the noble mind, albeit he may haue occasion to be sorie for the vnthankfulnes of his friend, yet hath he no licence to repent him of the good turnes he doth for him. And therefore in the case of liberalitie, or clemencie, by how much the person is vnworthie that receiueth the benefite, by so much more is he to be commended that bestoweth it. For, that onely may be said is giuen, when he that giueth, giues without respect. So that, he that giues in hope of recompence, deserues not to be called liberall, but to pretend vsurie. Thou knowest wel that in the time of the battell, and when the encounter was most hoat, I offered thée nothing worthie of reproch: euen so thou hast now to iudge, that if in the furie of warre thou foundest me faithfull and mercifull, I haue now no reason to exercise rigor, holding thée within ỳ precinct of my house. So that, if thou sawest mercie in mée at the instant when thy handes were busie to spill my bloud, thinke not that my clemencie shall faile thée, calling thée to the communion and fellowship of my table. The prisoners of thy campe can assure thée of my dealing, amongst whom, the hurt are cured at my charges, and the dead buried according to the place of souldiours, wherein if I exercise this care vpon such as sought to spoile me, thinke there is farre greater plentie of grace to thée that comest to serue me. And so leauing thée in the hands of thine owne counsell, I wish thée those felicities which thy honourable heart desireth.

That is frank gift which is giuen without respect.

¶ To the Duke of Alua, conteyning an exposition of a text of the Apostle, with other antiquities.

TOgether with your letter (right excellent Duke) I haue receiued your particular remembrances, wherin albeit I find it strange that you should require aduise of me, you, on whome the mightie Cæsar reapposeth most for the counsell of his affaires: yet, since it pleaseth you thus to exercise your humilitie, and publish science in me, it belonges to my duetie rather to put my imperfection to your iudgment, then to leaue your desire vnsatisfied. And albeit, in the consideration of your demaund, I finde some perpleritie to aunswere, for that your honour seemes to solicite me in one thing, and your conscience in an other: yet, I hope so to debate your difficulties, that in your conscience shall remaine no doubt, nor your reputation be subiect to staine or burden. For sweete is the felicitie of that minde whose desires are innocent, and the works of their life iust. A knight of the Gentiles and careless of the health of his soule, delites more in the greatnes and antiquitie of his race, then in the vertue whereof his nobilitie toke beginning, which is found contrarie in the inclination and action of the true Christian knight. For he esteemes true nobilitie to depend of vertue, and all other things to be of fortune. And therfore, to be a good knight, and a true Christian, accord wel together in the law of Jesus Christ: because to the good and true knight, it belonges to vse courage in the effecte of warre, to be iust in his word, liberall of his purse, patient in aduersities, and to shew clemencie where he hath cause and power of reuenge: all whiche are expressely commaunded in the diuine lawe, and are the most true and glitterung insignes of a good christian knight.

That man is happie that hath good desires.

True nobilitie depends of vertue, & all other thinges are of Fortune.

Saint Paule ministreth this aduise to his disciple Timothe, *Labora vt bonus miles*, willing him to traueile as a good knight, not in ỹ toyles of a labourer, fisher, miller, or mariner, but in the laboures of a good Christian knight, in whome it is to be esteemed no lesse greatnesse of heart to resist vices, then to fight against enimies. And where he bids him bring forth the exercise of a good knight, he meaneth that the goodnes of a

Christian

Christian knight consisteth not in pompe and great magnificence, but in the tranquillitie and innocencie of a good conscience. For he that wallowеth in the wealth of Crœsus, and sleepes not in the bosome and quietnesse of Abraham, holdes no more then if he were Lord of a goodly vessell replenished with corrupt and poysoned liquour. To haue rich tapistrie, massiue plate, many great horses, with other preparations to sportes and pleasures, be thinges rather to keepe oure names in honour, then to minister safetie to our soules: and yet as I can not denie them to be instrumentes to interteine our reputation, so, withall I cannot allow that they are the very effectes of our damnation. For we are bound to seeke God in humilitie and faith, and not to limitt his power, nor debate what he ought to determine of our estate. And as I must confesse, that (for the further value and reputation of knightes and great Lordes) their houses are replenished, with children and youth of right honest sort: so I could wishe that in their negligent or corrupt education, were suffered no libertie to insolencie or vice, which then they best performe, when in themselues is erpressed no example of lewde behauiour. For in the vertue of the maister is wrought the effecte and example of reformation in the seruaunt, euen as the temperance of the father is much to instructe his sonne in his due humilitie and obedience: So that who suffereth in his seruaunt, lyes, swearing, blasphemie, whoredomes, or other dissolute or idle disposition, albeit he be a knight, yet he cannot worthily be called a good knight: For that the houses of good knightes ought to be as scholes of instruction to youth, & not tauernes to professe epicuritie. He that keeps many haukes and hounds, prepares riche and costly banquets, holdes a house of generall repaire, and reteineth the vnthriftie and banished. And he that followeth the delites of the world, and forgetts his office to God, such one in his behauiour beares reason to be called a gentle knight, for that to such belong those ornaments and insignes, more then to gentlemen following Christianitie. But according to the aduise of the Apostle, such one aspireth to be a good knight, who striueth to be a good Christian, for that by the lawe

Much is in the father, to make his children reformed.

The lawe of Christ giues no libertie to do euil.

lawe of Jesus Christ, none hath libertie to exercise any vice.

Touching the other doubt in your letter, I know not how to giue you any generall rule that hath bene obserued in all regions, for that, according to the diuersitie of nations, men haue alwayes vsed difference of customes. Lycurgus the lawreader of the Lecædemonians held such in most honour, whose beardes were most hoarie, & heads most white with age. Prometheus ordeined amongst the Aegyptians, that to the people of iustice was transferred most honour. And king Dridanius was wont to say to ỹ Sicylians, that to the priests of the temple most honor was due. Bryas king of the Argiues gaue most honour to the Philosophers that read in scholes. Numa Pompilius amongst the Romanes was of opinion that he was worthy of most reputation, to whome had happened the victorie of any famous battell. But Anaxarchus the Philosopher ordeined amongest the Phænicians, that in a common weale suche shoulde be most honoured, who, in time of peace, enterteyned the state in tranquillitie, and in the furie of warre, was found a wise and valiant protector of their limites. In all which, albeit there was iust merit of honor and reputation, yet in common experience and reason of thinges, we cannot but confesse more desart of worthines and vertue in such, whose wisedome and discretion makes them able to dissemble and suffer. For, to be discrete in prosperitie, and patient in aduersitie, is the true motion and effect of a valiant and vertuous mind. If you weigh these thinges with the nature and propertie of the present time, you will conclude with me (I doubt not) but that the imperfection of your demaund, takes away necessitie in me to make answere. For in these dayes, what is more familiar with the most sort, then to scoffe at the reuerence and dignitie of old age, to disobey magistrates, despise iustice, scorne the Clergie, laugh at the want of Capteines, persecute the wise sort, and betray such as follow vertue and simplicitie of life? So that in an age thus hardened, and time so vnthankful, that man takes vppon him no small enterprise, who striues to be vertuous, since vertue is a thing that prepares vs to immortalitie, and makes vs equall with the heauens. In times past,

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he that knew most, was esteemed best: but now who is most rich, is raised to most honour. So that the condition of this age is, to esteeme men so much ẏ more, by how much they wallow in wealth, and to measure their reputation, not with the dignitie of their vertues, but according to the facultie and fulnesse of their riches. For worldly men are so infected with corruption, and their nature so subiect to reuolution and change, that in cases of promotion, high office and dignitie are rather bought with monie, then deserued by vertue. In times past, there was no man areared to honour, but he that deserued it: but now who are called but such as search it with monie? In the former ages, men of science were searched for in farre countries, but now though they knocke at our gates, they are not suffered to enter, no, our corruption and customes drawe vs to other delites. In that golden world, there was no Senate, or counsell established, where was not resident some excellent Philosopher: and nowe where haue we any palace, which is not replenished with scoffers and inuenters of vanitie? Such was the felicitie of those dayes, that hee that was vertuous, had libertie to controll the wicked, where nowe, there is no more common subiection, then that the good sort are reproued by the vile abiectes and skumme of all people. In that most happie posteritie, the good sort onely had licence to speake, where now the wicked are they that know not how to hold their peace. Yea, in those flourishing seasons, the chaffe was sifted from the corne, the weede discouered from the good herbe, good men preferred, and the wicked punished, yea, vice was suffered to hold no societie with vertue. For that, where vice is supported by authoritie, men grow worse and worse: and where punishment is restrayned, there insolencie commaundes the lawes, which is the greatest error that can be suffered in gouernement.

Vertue prepares vs to immortalitie.

To restraine punishment is a great error in gouernement.

Touching your demaund, what manner of people in the time of the Gentiles were called theeues, and the sortes of punishment they were put vnto: although there be great necessitie in your request, and no lesse insufficiencie in me to satisfie it, yet I will answere you with the opinion of Aulus Gelius,

lius who describing many orders of theeues, distinguished as well their punishmentes, as some kindes of thefts, which according to the time and person that commits them, may oftentimes be taken for faultes, but not esteemed as thefts. For in paine and iudgement the qualitie with the quantitie, must be considered. The auncients held him as a theefe, who, eyther in the field, or towne, toke away that which was anothers, and made no bodie priuie to it, or against the wil of the owner. He also was esteemed as a theefe, who borrowed a horse for one dayes iourney, & reteyned him longer. He also was accompted a theefe, who being put in trust with the keeping of other mens goods, conuerted them to his proper vse, as if they had bene his owne. Lastly, he bare the name of a theefe, which borrowed any thing for ten dayes, and restored it not in twentie. And as all these in their seuerall kindes were esteemed robbers and theeues, so the Lawe set downe for them varietie of punishment. For amongst the Greekes, they were marked on ỳ forehead with hoat yrons, to ỳ end to be more readily known. The statutes of Lycurgus were to cut off their noses. Prometheus ordeyned that they shoulde be committed to children to punish them at their pleasure. By the lawe of Numa Pompilius, one of their hands was cut off. But the first that inuented to cut off their eares, or strangle them vpon gibbets, were the Gothes, who, (notwithstanding in other respects were barbarous) yet vsed they seuere iustice to theeues and robbers. But at this day (Sir) if there were commission to hang vpp all the theeues in the worlde, I feare there woulde be more want of gibbets, then of robbers to furnish them. And greatly haue we to desire with Diogenes, that the greate theeues shoulde not so hang vp the little ones, nor the Lawes be made like to spyders webbes, who suffer the greate ones to pearce and passe thorough without punishment, & strangle the little flie, in whome is least offence.

Punishments for theeues.

¶ To Don Ferdinando de Toledo, to whom are expounded two authorities of the Scripture, and the custome of the Aegyptians in the death of their friendes.

I haue

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HAue not thus long forborne to write to you, in any negligent respect, as remembring with what deuotion you required me, and with what humilitie and affection I am bounde to obey you. And nowe if my answere seeme to short to satisfie you, let the same discretion whiche is wont to take all thinges in the best, beare nowe with my wretched infirmitie of the goute, whiche hath made mee suche a martyr, that muche lesse I haue leasure to write, seeing I haue no abilitie to sturre or moue: yea, it hath lefte no parte free in my body, except my hearte to sighe, and my tongue to complaine. You require me to sende you in writing the exposition of those two partes of Scripture whiche I pronounced not long since, afore the Paschie of Caesar, whiche as I can not denie you, considering your authoritie, euen so, I hope you will weyghe the difficultie that belonges to it, since the penne can giue no suche grace to describe a matter, as the tongue to pronounce it. The first was written in the nineteenth of Leuiticus, in these wordes: *Super mortuos non incidetis carnes vestras, neque figuras aliquas. &c.* God, by Moses, commaunded here the Hebrues, that when any of their parentes or friendes dyed, they shoulde not shaue their heades, nor rent their faces, and much lesse hurte any other parte of the body, no, nor imprint any charect in the same. By the meaning of which commaundement we may gather, that the children of Israel hauing dwelt many yeares with the Aegyptians, learned of them many wicked and pernicious customes. For as (more then any other people) they were giuen to the Mathematique sciences, and other artes and faculties superstitious, as Magicke and Necromancie, so there was no nation, that in the death of their friendes exprelled greater ceremonies then the Aegyptian, who shewed signes of stronger friendeshippe to his friende beeing deade, then when he liued. For, when eyther the father lost his sonne, or the sonne was bereaued of his father, or any other man by death was deprined of his priuate friende, they resorted forthwith to this cu-

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custome, to shaue the one halfe of their haire, expressing therby that their friend being dead, they had lost the one moietie of their heart. For which cause, God forbad ỹ Hebrues to make thẽselues balde, to the end they should not be like the Aegyptian women, who in the funeralles of their husbandes, parentes, children, or greate friendes, vsed to scratch and disfigure their faces with their proper nayles: which custome God forbad in ỹ womẽ of Israel, least, for vsing the ceremonies of ỹ Aegyptians, they stode not subiect to the scourges of Aegypt. The inferiour sacrificators of Aegypt, whẽ their high priests died, vsed to make certeine charects (according to their particular fancie) in their hands, armes, or breasts, to ỹ end that as often as they beheld them, they might expresse compassion and teares: as also at the death of their king, all the officers and seruauntes of his house, made woundes in their armes, hands, face or head, euery one making his wounde so muche the deeper, by howe much he stode in fauour with the king. But God commaunded the Hebrues to refraine such wilful hurting of themselues, forbad them to imitate the Aegyptians, nor to follow the customes of the houshold seruauntes of their king, for that in al those ceremonies were effectes of superstition, and only innouated by the diuell, yea, they brought hurt to such as liued, and were in vaine to those that were dead. In the old lawe God also forbad men to labour the fielde with yoakes of oxen and asses: and to sowe in one grounde two kindes of graine, with such like, whiche were not without mysterie, because all those customes depended vppon the ceremonies of the Aegyptians, which God would not should holde any vse amongest the people of Israel. But here we haue to note, that God restrayned not men to vse sorow and teares in the death of their frends: For, as other ceremonies are in our will, eyther to doe, or not to doe them: so sorow and heauinesse for the losse or absence of a friend, doe as naturally followe fleash and bloud, as our appetite to eate and drinke. And though by reason some men may dissemble them, yet by nature there are fewe that can auoyd them. Therefore God that made the heart, and ioyned to it his affections, neuer added any lawe to forbid teares and

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weeping: liuing to the hart, (whose chiefest propertie consists in tendernes) there can be offered nothing more intollerable or grieuous, then to see it selfe denied from the thing it holdes most deare, the same standing good in apparant example in the experience and disposition of any two creatures, who, (after their long conuersation together) if they be separated, or their fauores inforced, will immediatly (according to their kinde) declare their passion. The Lion will roare, the cow will yell, the Swine will grunt, and the Dog cannot but howle: much more then is the condition of man subiect to sorrow and heauinesse, as in whom nature breedes a more quicke and raging sense of passion for ỹ discontinuance of their dere frends. And if we haue compassion ouer the misaduenture of a stranger, or the losses of our neighbour suffering casualtie, or liuing in absence, are we restrained to lesse remorce for the death of our great friend whom we see put into the graue? For which cause the philosopher was of opinion, that so many times did a man die, how often he lost his friendes. For that since two hearts united in one honest affection, haue but one being and place of residence, it is good reason that we bewayle the death of our chosen friendes, euen with the same nature and compassion whiche we woulde doe our owne. The seconde part of the discourse is drawn out of Deut. in this text, *Eligite ex vobis viros sapientes, &c.* My will is (sayeth God) that all suche as aspire to the administration of publique gouernement, shall be wise and noble. This commaundement was not pronounced of God without great mysterie, but chiefely that gouernours shoulde be both wise and noble: for that as wisedome without noblenesse is a troublesome thing, so noblenesse without wisedome is but as a soule without a body: or as a painted fire ỹ becomes the wall, but giues no heate to the beholder. Therefore, as to be gouerned by a magistrate flowing in science and knowledge, & fayling of noblenes, is both miserable and troublesome: so it cannot but be intollerable, to liue vnder the controulment of him, to whome fortune hath giuen greatnes of place and birth, and grace and nature denied discretion and other temperances of the spirite: so that to make

by a full perfection, it is necessarie the iudge haue knowledge to debate and determine causes, and nobilitie to moderate the residue of the affections of the minde, yet, the wisedome which God requires in the magistrates of his common weale, ought not to streatch to subtiltie or tyrānie, but to be tempered with modestie, sweetenesse, and gratious behauiour. For a iudge, in the office and causes of counsell, is no lesse bound to the obseruation of the lawe, religion, faith, and equitie, then to be voyd of al hate, enuie, feare, couetousnes, or other corrupt affectiōs. It was not without cause that God commaunded to institute the iudges ouer his people, of noble condition, seing it is a greate argument of the suertie and tranquillitie of that state, whose magistrate is compounded of nobilitie and modestie. Therefore the first gouernour that administred the common weale of God, was the ease and gratious Moses, whom Gods prouidence led to be nourished in the courte of Pharao by the kinges daughter, to the end that in suche societie and experience of so many wise and noble iudges, he might learne to intreate and assure good men in their innocencie, and howe to chastite the euill amid their wickednes. The affaires of warre are farre different from the policie and gouernment of a common weale established: for that in matters of enterprises, it is meete the captaine be valiant, but to gouerne at home let the magistrate exercise affabilitie & sweetenes: for that a ruler ought rather to be terrible in threats then in punishment, and so to temper his authoritie, that his people may feele his power rather with his liberalitie then with iniuries. And albeit it is no generall rule that all the common sort be rude and barbarous, nor that euery courtier is fully furnished with ciuilitie: yet, in such as receiue their fourme and fashion in courtes of princes, is alwayes founde more respect, consideration and iudgement of thinges, and are of a better correction of manners, then the others. There be fewe thinges which ought to be guided by rigor of iustice, but fewer to be gouerned by force by whiche reason it behoueth the iudge to be wise and noble, to the ende that by wisedome he may knowe what iustice is, and by his nobilitie he may moderate the rigor of the lawe.

What is required of a iudge in matters of counsel

A magistrate ought rather to be terrible in threats thē in punishmēt.

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¶A discourse afore the Emperour Charles the fifte, wherein is handled the pardon that Christ demaunded of his father for his enimies.

Pater ignosce illis quia nescium quid faciunt. Father forgiue them, for they know not what they doe.

AMongest all the chiefe and principall vertues, the most worthie is that whiche wee call wisedome, for that without it, iustice is resolued into crueltie, temperance takes the habite of rage and furie, and fortitude bringes forth tyrannie. For whiche cause Christ sayeth not expressely to his disciples, Be temperate, be strong, or be iust, but he biddeth them be wise as serpents, and simple as doues, aduising vs thereby, that hee that is discrete in spirite and behauiour, cannot but be iust in that he commaundes, moderate in his actions, and stronge in what soeuer he enterpriseth. For he that is wise is constant, and he that is constant is not troubled, and who is not troubled lines without sorrowe and heauines: so that the discrete man is happie, since wisedome and discretion are compounded vppon the knowledge of thinges good and euill. So excellent is the gift of wisedome, that by the prouidence and direction of it, abuses past are reformed, thinges present are ordered, and by it men haue the facultie to foresee chaunces to come: by which may be cõcluded, that he that is not furnished with that high grace, stands voyd of meane to recouer that which he hath lost, is vnable to reteine that which he hath, and hath no power to aspire to that which he hopeth for. Thou hast made me wise ouer mine enimies, sayeth the prophete Dauid, wherein he seemes to offer thanckes to the Lord, for that though by his wickednes and sinne, he hath deserued to haue enimies, yet the Lord hath succoured him, in giuing him meane to defend himselfe against them by his wisedome, without the which he had not been able to haue serued God, nor resisted his aduersaries.

Matth. 10.

Praise of wisedome.

Psalm. 118.

So noble is the vertue and grace of wisedome, that she cannot chose her perpetuall dwelling, in a person altogether wicked. And therefore, when we see any politique in that they doe, subtile in that they say, prouident in their plots and purposes, and diligent to execute their enterprises: of suche let vs say with S. Hierome: *Quod sapientes sunt vt malum faciant, facere autem bonum nesciunt.* Suche are wise men to do euill, but to do well they neither knowe the way, nor haue the meane. Saule in a greate presence of his peeres and potentates, sayde thus of Dauid: *Noui Dauid filium Isai virum bellicosum, & prudentem in verbis, &c.* I know Dauid the sonne of Isai to be valiant in armes, and discreete in speach: wherein we haue to note that the scripture commends not Dauid, so much for the stabilitie of his countenance, nor for his granitie in the iudgement of cases, nor for his policie in ỹ expedition of warres, as for the discretion he vsed in disposing his speach and wordes, the same remayning to vs a good argument & example, that in nothing may be expressed and manifested the vertue of wisedome more then in ordering ỹ speach. The wiseman vseth this text: *Tempus loquendi & tempus tacendi*, meaning, that then a wise man is best knowne, when he hath discretion to discerne the difference of times to speake, and times to vse silence. For all thinges of this life, haue their place to stay in, their being, by meane whereof they are preserued: time to worke their condition whereunto they are inclined, and haue end, wherein they suffer end. God assigneth seasons, and inableth euery time to his proper office and function. For, as in one time men throwe seede into the ground, so another season bringes vnto them their increase and fruite: sometimes men trauell, and other seasons are appointed to rest: at one time princes builde, and at another they pull downe: and sometimes there is libertie to speake, when at another season it is more conuenient to vse silence: so that as euery thing hath his time, and euery time his proper season: so it is necessarie to speake when there is consent of time and place, together with good counsell and consideration of the matter that is spoken. For as silence is a gift without peril, and conteines in it many good thinges, so

Hierom. 4.

1. Reg. 16.

Eccle siast. 3.

Silence is a gift without perill.

it were

it were better oure silence brought oure simplicitie in suspicion, then to speake either inconuenientlie, idely, or vnnecessarily. This text, *Tempus tacendi & tempus loquendi*, teacheth vs, that if first we learne not when to hold our peace, we shall hardly know how to speake in opportunitie: seeing with the aduised and resolute man this is one propertie, to ponder and make a iudgement of his wordes, afore he deliuer them publiquely: and therefore it is holden an assured signe of a wiseman, when he perceiueth the true difference betweene his libertie to speake, and discretion to hold his peace. For as such may be his necessitie to speak, that to vse silence, could not be without great suspicion of his ignorance: so also, so requisite may be the occasion to hold his peace, that to speake cannot be without imputation of folly: by which reason, the wiseman speaking so much of time, giues vs libertie to speake in season, and not otherwise, aduising vs further, that as to vse continuall silence cannot be without signe of great simplicitie, so, to speake out of opportunitie and purpose, breeds in it selfe an opinion of great folly.

Who seeth his brother, sayeth the Prophete, wallowing in wickednes and sinne, and doeth not admonishe and persuade him to conuersion, God will require accompt of the sinnes of the offender at his hands, as consenting and guiltie to his wickednes. The prophete Esaie, beeing sorie that he had holden his peace, cryed out, *Væ mihi quia tacui:* as if he had said, Oh Lord God, how many faultes I haue dissembled and kept secrete, so many swayes am I guiltie: for that if I had disclosed them, I had beene rebuked and reformed. But if it be an euill thing to keepe silence, it is yet worse to speake, according to the example and experience in Caine: *Maior est iniquitas mea quam vt veniam merear*, so great is my sinne, that I deserue no grace nor mercie. Much better had it beene for Caine to haue holden his peace, then to speake so euill, for that his wickednesse was more intollerable despairing of Gods mercie, then for ỹ murther he made of his brother. Thus we see the prophete was culpable for vsing silence, and Caine condemned because hee spake: by which we may gather the great necessitie we haue

Ezech. 3.

Esaie. 6.

Gene. 4.

of wisedome to vse time to speake, and time to suffer silence. For as the træ is knowen by his fruite, and the vertue of a man discerned by his workes, so in his words and speache, are disclosed the qualitie of his wisedome, or simplicitie. And as Jesus Christe in all his actions, was no lesse patient to heare, then moderate in speaking, so, we finde not in Scripture, that he euer deliuered word in vaine, nor neuer held his peace but for feare of slaunder. And although it be a miserable compulsion, to vse silence in thinges whiche we haue desire to disclose, yet considering silence bringes suertie, and conteines in it selfe many other goodly thinges, let vs stand restrained to the two seasons which Socrates alloweth without reprehension: the one is when we speake of that which we manifestly know, and the other when we haue in hand thinges necessarie. In which two times onely, as speache is better then silence: so in all other seasons, experience approueth that we ought to preferre silence afore speaking.

¶ To what purpose or intentions tended all the speaches of Iesus Christ.

THe wordes of our Sauiour tended either to the praise of his father, as when he humbled himselfe in this speache, *Confiteor tibi pater:* or to teach men what they ought to do, when he said, *Beati mites:* or else to reprehend wickednes and sinne, when he cryed, *Va vobis legis peritis*. So that when he was not occupied to giue praise and glorie to his father, nor to preach doctrine, nor to rebuke vices, it was then he was settled in a deuout and holie silence. The Hebrues ledd him to their consistories afore three iudges, that is to say, they brought him to the palace before Herode, to the bishops house before Annas, and to the træ of the crosse before his father, at which place onely he spake, and in the others he vsed silence: and therefore afore the two first tribunals he was accused of crime, because he held his peace: and standing as aduocate afore the third, he spake. And albeit right great and infinite were the workes which our Redeemer did

Matth. 13.

Matth. 5.

Luke 11.

from

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from ẏ time he was taken till he was crucified, yet his wordes were fewe, and his speaches in very small number: the better to teach vs, that in time of tribulation & aduersitie, we ought more to seeke our consolation in a holy and deuout patience, then to preferre or expresse great eloquence.

Christ then being vppon the hill of Caluarie, not onely condemned to death, but very neere the passion of the same, hauing his flesh pearced with nailes, and his heart burning in zeale and loue, cryed to his father, *Pater ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt*: as if he had said, Oh eternall father, in recompence that I am come into the world, and in consideration of the preaching that I haue made of thy name, in satisfaction of the paines and crucifying that I indure, and in respect that I haue reconciled the world to thee: I require no other reward, but that it may be thy good pleasure to pardon these mine enimies, who haue sinned to the end I should die: and I suffer death because they may liue. Forgiue them, since thou knowest and all the world seeth, that in my bloud is paid and satisfied their crime, and with my charitie I haue raised and put them in my glorie, so that let my death be sufficient, to the end that no other death haue more place in the world. Pardon them, since thou knowest, that the death which triumphed in the Crosse, and by the which I am nailed to the same, is crucified here in this tree, by meanes whereof (Oh euerlasting father) I beseech thee esteeme more the charitie wherein I die for them, then the malice by the which they prosecute my death. Forgiue them (Oh heauenly father) since if thou considerest these my enimies in the nature and merite of their sinnes, there will not be found in the furies of hell, torments worthie enough to punish them. Then better is it (Oh gratious father) that thou pardon them, since that as there was neuer the like fault committed, so shalt thou neuer haue occasion to vse the like mercie. And seeing my death is sufficient to saue all such as are borne, or to be borne, those that are absent, present, dead and on liue: it is no reason that these here should be shutt out from that benefite, being a thing of most equitie, iustice, and right: that as my bloud is not spilt but with

thy consent, so also, by thy hands it should be well employed.

In this, we haue to note that Christ said not, Lord pardon them, but he said, Father forgiue them, as describing this difference betweene those two estates, that to a Lord belonges properly to haue bondmen, subiectes, and vassals: and the name of a father presupposeth to haue children: so that he required his father not to iudge them as a Lord, but besought him to pardon them as a father. Christ also said not conditionally, Father, if it be thy pleasure forgiue them: but he prayed absolutely (after himselfe had forgiuen them) that his father would pardon them: by which example we are put in remembrance, that the reconcilement which we make with our enimies, ought to be pure, absolute, and without affection. Besides, our redæmer said not singularly: Father pardon him, but he spake plurally: by which we may be informed, that as he prayed not particularly for any one in priuate, but generally for all, so his bloud dispersed on the crosse was not onely sufficient to redæme one onely world, but to satisfie the raunsome of a millian of worlds. And out of this mysterie may be drawen this construction, that our Sauiour praying generally for all, expresseth himselfe so liberall to giue, and so mercifull to pardon, that when he forgiues a sinner any offence, he pardoneth withall his other crimes.

It is not also without mysterie, that Christ said not: I forgiue them, but besought his father to pardon them. For that, if the sonne onely had pardoned them after his death, the Father might haue demaunded the iniurie: because that if the sonne had forgiuen them, he had done it as a man, where the execution of the iustice remained in God. But as the diuine word, yea the liuing Lord, hath performed this pardon with so true a hart, so hath he not suffered that there remaine in it any scruple: and therefore he besought his father to pardon them, to the end that by the humanitie which he indured, and diuinitie which suffered it, his enimies might be at the instant absolued, and we others haue hope to obteine remission.

¶ That

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¶ That when Christ our Lord gaue pardon he left nothing to forgiue.

IN like sort wee haue to note, that Iesus Christe required not his father to pardon them after his death, but besought him to forgiue them at the instant, auouching vs by that example, that to be good Christians and true followers of our redeemer, it behoueth vs (afore we passe out of this life) to dissolue and breake all rancor and malice. For the froward and seditious shall haue much to indure in the other world, if in this life they were slowe to pardon and forgiue. But since the speach which the Lord expressed vppon the crosse, was so high and excellent, it cannot be out of purpose to dispute what good thing the Hebrues did, to deserue so famous a pardon: for, so much more noble and great is the remission, by how much lesse there is occasion giuen to do it. In the death of our Sauiour, the Hebrues offered many great and vnnatural iniuries, for the least whereof, much lesse that there was merite of pardon, where, in the acte was sufficient desert to haue [illegible]em all throwen quicke into the deepest bottoms of hell. [illegible]he first, they did not onely put him to death by malice (be[illegible]nan most tollerable in their common weale) but set at l[illegible]Barrabas, a common murtherer of the quicke, and cru[illegible]esus Christ which raised from death such as suffered d[illegible]f the execution had beene done in some distant village [illegible]remoued from the cities and resort of people, the iniurie and dishonor had been more tollerable: but to their wicked conspiracie, to put him to death, they ioyned a most abhominable meane & manner of execution, and applying it proper to their reuenge to bring open shame to his innocencie, they crucified him in the great citie of Hierusalem, where Christ stode in state of good reputation for his Sermons, and had there his allies and kinred, euen men of great honour and honestie. In their determination to put him to death, although they published the execution in Hierusalem, yet, if they had either taken the night

Fiue iniuries done to Christ at his suffering.

A circumstãce of the passion of Christ.

or chosen some priuate house, the time and place had not so apparantly detected their malice. For that is more then barbarous fiercenes, where is no respecte to time, place, nor person, obseruations naturally remembred euen amongst Tigers and Lions in their extreamest passions of rage and furie. But of the contrarie, at the third houre they ledd him out of the citie, and at the sixte, they crucified him, and at the ninth houre he yelded vpp the Ghost: seasons wherein the day reigneth in his most clearenesse, and people make their common assemblies, in whose sight, they ought to haue forborne to haue crucified that innocent Lambe, betweene two theeues, hee, whose race and linage was of kinges, and esteemed to be the soueraigne Prophete. But to persecute him as well with ignominie, as with paine, they gaue him societie with robbers and theeues, to the end the world might thincke that hee was the greatest theefe of all.

They might, lastly, haue referred him to a kinde of deathlesse slaunderous to heare, and not so cruell to suffer: but according to their insatiable malice, they restrayned Pilate to that election and choice of death, as wherin might be wrought to our Redeemer most apparance of obloquie and shame. For malice, being the maistresse of iniustice, stirres vpp both the thoughtes and hands of men to wicked thinges. Albeit these were the workes which they did, and the merits for the which Iesus Christ should procure them pardon and mercie: yet, in recompence of this vnworthie death, & so many blasphemous wronges, Christ cryed with a pitifull voyce, saying: Father forgiue them, for they know not what they doe. Here may be brought in the saying of the prophete, speaking in the person of Iesus Christ: *Super dorsum meum fabricauerunt peccatores, prolongauerunt iniquitatem suam*: as if he had said, I knowe not what I haue done against thee, Ph synagogue, and yet thou hast beene against me from mine infancie, thou hast persecuted me in my youth, and in the fruite and ripenesse of mine age thou hast crucified mee, and yet hast discharged all thy sinnes vppon my shoulders. *Super dorsum meum fabricauerunt peccatores*: Adam was the first that layd vppon my shoulders disobe-

Malice the mistresse of iniustice.

Psalme. 128.

dience:

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dience: his wife Eue, slouth and Epicuritie: Caine his sonne, murther and slaughter: the patriarche Loth, incest: king Dauid, adulterie: Ieroboam his sonne idolatrie: and all the Synagogue so discharged vpon me their malice, that, where they in their wickednesse committed the crimes, I vppon the croslle payd for them the ransome of their paines, which are not only for that they layed vppon my backe all their offences, but because that assembling and heaping wickednesse vppon wickednesse, they haue prolonged their iniquitie, and haue not beene sorrie for that they haue done, but because they were able to doe no more: so that, if their ioyes were great to see my death, great also was their displeasure by the meane of my resurrection.

Thus these miserable Hebrues haue increased and prolonged their iniquitie, bearing enuie to the doctrine of Iesus Christe, of which enuie, they conceiued hatred, and of that hatred they conspired together to crucifie him, and being bolde to crucifie him, they toke impudencie to mocke him, and after they had scorned him they denyed his resurrection, and so resolued into obstinacie, that Iesus Christe sayde not of them without cause: *Expugnauerunt me a iuuentute mea*, continuing to persecute me, euen vnto my graue! Psalm. 128.

But hauing thus deduced the final reasons of the Hebrues to put Christ to death, together also with the slender occasions they gaue him to obteine their pardon: let vs withall speake of the great bountie wherewith he recompenced their cruelties, and of the vniuersall pardon which he obteined of his father for them: wherein the circumstances deserue almost as much to be noted, as the pardon it selfe. Iesus Christ then wel expressed his inestimable bountie, in the prayer which he commended to his father at ỹ instant of his death, requiring pardõ for his enimies: a thing so much ỹ more vehemently desired of him, by how much he knew it was most necessarie to them for whom he prayed. Christ also felt bitterly ỹ teares and sorowes of his mother, (but that was a passion according to the nature and condition of a sonne,) but the ỹ destruction of the Hebrues touched him in ỹ zeale & compassion of a creator. The bowels of his mo-

Christ vsed most sweete wordes when he asked pardon for his enimies.

mother could not stay him from dying for his enimies, for that he knew that she had brought him forth in great ioy, but he had redeemed the Hebrues with most bitter trauaile. In this also appeared his wonderfull bountie, that in his prayer he called not on ẏ maiestie of God, by the title of Lord, but by the name of Father: a name truly wherein is vertue to make easie and tractable the hart of a man being appealed vnto by his Sonne. *Frons meretricis facta est tibi, & noluisti erubescere: reuertere ad me, & dic, Pater mens es tu*, sayeth God, speaking to the Synagogue of the Iewes by his prophete Ieremie, as if he had said: Oh Israel, albeit thou art so obstinate in thy malice, that thou takest no more shame of thy sinnes, then a common woman diuiding her bodie to straunge flesh, yet, if thou come afore mée in prayer, and call mée Father, I will aunswere thée, and acknowledge thée for my sonne. By this we haue to thinke, that it was not to obteine a small thing, when he began his prayer by this inuocation: Father forgiue them: yea, he made offer of the same phrase, for the remission of his enimies, which he would haue done, if he had prayed for the aduauncement of his best friendes. But in recompence of this wonderfull affection and zeale, that nation (replenished with malice) cryed out to Pilate to crucifie him, who refusing to commit his innocencie to sentence, and not finding in him worthinesse of death, they cryed eftsones: *Sanguis eius super nos & super filios nostros.* Be not so scrupulous to iudge an offender, say they, for if thou thincke thou doest an vniust thing, let the vengeance of his innocencie fall vppon vs and our posteritie. But from this petition Iesus Christe seemed to appeale: for that as they cryed that his blood might be against them, so of the contrarie, hee sought to make that holie effusion profitable to them: so that where they demaunded of Pilate their condemnation, he prayed to his father for their pardon. For a man to do no euill to his enimie may verie well happen: to pardon enimies belonges to ẏ office of CHRIST IESVS. To loue an enimie is the worke of a perfecte man: but to pardon him which would not obteine pardon, was neuer done by any but by Iesus Christ. For when the Hebrues cryed *Sanguis eius super nos,*

Matth. 27.

An indiscrete demaund of the Iewes.

Christ

Christ lift vp his voice and zeale to his father, *Pater ignosce illis*. There was no great distance betweene the time of the petition of the Iewes, and the prayer of our Sauiour: for as they cryed at the third hour to haue him crucified, and that the reuenge of his bloud might light vppon them and theirs, so at the ninth houre, Christ prayed to his father to forgiue them: Oh father (sayeth he) let not the vengeance of my death redound vppon them, neither stretch out thine ire vpon this people that know not what they do: for they are ignorant of the price of their demaund and protestation that with such obstinate vehemencie they pursue to Pilate. Much better then did the Apostle consider and feele this great miserie, when he said, *Accessistis ad sanguinis aspersionem melius loquentem quam Abel*: Oh wretched Hebrues, and happie Oh we Christians, who haue obteined pardon by the effusion of the bloud of the sonne of God, shedd by your meane! This speach sure was farre otherwise, then the saying of Abel crying, iustice, iustice, but our Sauiour said, mercie, mercie: So that, the iniquitie so generall, and sinne so wicked as ours is, had nede of such an aduocate as is Iesus Christ: for who was so fitt to obteine pardon for our sinnes, as he whose innocencie made him without sinne?

¶ That God was woont to be called the God of vengeance, and now is he named the father of mercie.

IEsus Christe languishing in torment and martyrdome vppon the crosse, expressed an other manner of Testament to the world, then king Dauid, who in the very passions of death, charged Solomon his sonne not to suffer the gray haires of Ioab to come to the graue without bloud: nor the liues of his subiectes and seruaunts to end without reuenge: yet they had not so much as touched his garment to offend him, where the Lord would not ceasse to purchase pardon euen for those by whose violent handes was wrought the effecte of his death.

Deus

Deus vltionum dominus, deus vltionum, sayeth Dauid speaking of the iustice of GOD, Thou Lord art the GOD of reuenge, since that from the instant that wee committ the offence, it is thou that thundereſt punishment vppon vs: yea thou art so called, because of the feare that the worlde hath of thee, and that thou dealeſt with the generations of men in so great rigor. With the anncients he was called the God of reuenge, for that immediatly after that Adam had transgreſſed, hee was chaſed out of the earthly Paradiſe: the regions of the earth by the vniuerſall flood were drowned: the two cities by his rigor ſubuerted: the faction of Aaron and Abiram conſumed: the idolaters that offered worſhipp to the calfe, committed to death: the theefe of Hiericho ſtoned: and the hoſt of Senacherib ouerthrowne: yea, without offering wrong to any, he did iuſtice to all. That GOD in thoſe times was the God of vengeance, it appeareth in the action on the mount Raphin, when the Hebrues demaunded of Moſes to giue them fleſh to eate, which turned to their greate damage, for that they had ſcarcely begon to taſte the fleathe of quailes falling in their hoſt, when loe the indignation of the Lorde ſlew ſuch multitudes of them, that the ſcripture forbeares to expreſſe the number.

Geneſ. 3.
Geneſ. 7.
Geneſ. 19.
Exod. 32.

Ad huc carnes erant in dentibus eorum, & ecce furor domini, & percuſſit populum plaga magna.

The reuenge of the offence of the king Abimelech, denying the Iſraelites to paſſe thorough his countries, was it not executed three hundreth yeares after the fault, and in the reigne of king Saule to whome God ſaide, I keepe remembrance of the ſmall regard which Abimelech gaue to my commaundements, ſtopping the paſſage of my people through his realmes, againſt whome loke that thou riſe and arreare thine armie, and cut in peeces all his people, ſpareing neither man, woman, nor beaſt: by which exaple with many others of equal continuance and equitie, the men of the worlde may perceiue, how deepe and vnſearchable are the iudgementes of God, who ſomtimes puniſh the immediate offender, & oftentimes transferre the correction vppon ſuch onely as deſcend of their race: So that he puniſheth no man without deſert, and therefore not without myſterie is he called by the prophet, ỹ God of reuenge

Recęſui quod fecit Abimelech Iſrael, vade ergo & interfice a viro vſque ad mulierem bouem, ouem & camelum. &c. 1. Reg.

Pſalm. 50.

nenge, because that albeit he vseth to dissemble for sometime our transgressions committed against his maiestie, yet they are not perpetually forgotten with him.

The same God that the Hebrues had and worshipped in those times, doe the Christians holde at this day as true and soueraigne Lorde, of whome the Apostle yeeldes better testimonie to the Church, then did Dauid to the synagogue: For Dauid called him the God of vengeance, and the Apostle honoureth him by the name of father of mercie and consolation: where in as Dauid was not without some occasion to ascribe vnto him that syrname and title, so the Apostle also had better reason to inuocate him in the phrase of merciful father, for that in that lawe of rigor and feare, God had a propertie to chastice people and nations, wherein this lawe of grace he visiteth vs in affection and mercie, whereby hauing changed custome he hath also ioyned vnto him an other propertie of name and title, being now worthily called the father of mercie according to his many examples of mercie and pitie exprested vppon many sinners, as vppon S. Matthew in remitting his vsuries, vpon Marie Magdalene in pardoning her vanities, vppon the Samaritane in forgeuing her adulteries, vppon the theefe in purging his thefts, vppon Saint Peter that had denied him, and vppon the wretched Hebrues that conspired his death.

O merciful Iesus, and delight of our soules, since the time is past wherin thy father was named the God of reuenge, & the season come wherin he is called vpon by the name of father of mercies: we beseeche thee oh Sauiour of the race of man, to haue pitie vppon our soules, and amend our liues, we that are thy brethren and members of thy Church: and since in losing our selues we lose much, and the meane of our safetie standes onely in thy goodnes, pardon vs according to thy holie custome and propertie of thy nature oh Creator of al things, and redeemer of al faults, since thou hast spoke by thy prophet, I wil not the death of a sinner, but that he liue and be conuerted. Behold vs (oh Lorde) in thy presence, and conuerted to thee: receiue vs, oh infinite and perpetuall God as our Father, and pardon

A good Prayer.

vs

vs as thy children: and as we confesse with humilitie, *Tibi sola peccauimus*, so let it be thy pleasure to saye to thy father, *Pater ignosce illis*. He was called in the old lawe, The God of reuenge, because his will was, that there shoulde be restitution of eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and hande for hande: but in the Lawe of grace he is called Father of mercie, for that he hath commaunded to render loue for hate, honour for infamie, clemencie for cruelties, and pardo for iniurie. *Loquuti sunt aduersum me lingua dolosa, & odio circumdederunt me, expugnauerunt me gratis, ego autem orabam*, sayth Dauid speaking in the person of Iesus Christe. Oh synagogue, full well doe I knowe that thou canst worke me no more euill then thou hast alreadie done: for thou hast hated me with thy hearte, blasphemed me with thy tongue, and killed me with thy handes, and in recompence of these deadly wrongs, I prayed to my father for thee, and with behement humilitie called vppon him to heare my prayer. This prophetie sure, as it was pronounced by Dauid both king and prophet, so hath it also bene accomplished by Iesus Christ. For at the time when they crucified him with nailes and tormentes, at the instant when they blasphemed him with their tongues, at the season when they held his prophetes in derision, yea, when he liquored the earth with his bloud, and opened the heauens with his teares, euen then did he pray with great compassion to his father, to pardon them. Oh wonderful bountie of our sauiour, who seeing euen from the crosse his greatest enimies, *Quod loquuti sunt aduersum illum, quod odio circumdederunt*, and without occasion *expugnauerunt illum*, and yet he prayed for them, as if they had bene free and exempt from fault! Greate is the action of this bountie, ouerpassing the reach of man, and exceeding the iudgement of Angels, and yet a worke right worthie of the Lorde, betweene whose holy intentions, and wicked working of his enimies, is expressed no small difference: For that for loue, they rendred hate: they appointed him prisoner, where he purchased their deliuerie: they accused him, where he excused them: they presented him afore Pilate, where he offered them to God his father: yea, where he desired to haue them pardoned, they procured to see him crucified:

Psalm. 108.

so

so that in this he expresseth a greater zeale to them, then they can beare to themselues, for that he holdeth the offender absolued, and demaundes pardon of his father afore the fault be confessed. They prepared gall and vineagre to present him in the passion of death, and sharpened their lances to pearce his sydes, and yet he besought his father to remitte the punishment afore they had actually committed the sinne. If the sonne of God would haue demaunded any other thing of his father, the present view and estate of his martyrdome ministred sufficient occasion: for he might haue desired of his father to remoue the pangues of his passion, or to ease the paines of his fleashe, pearced throughe with nailes: to take his enimies from his presence, to preuent the obloquie, to suffer betweene two theeues: or lastly he might haue demaunded that after his death to his body might be toyned a sepulchre. But to requestes of such nature, the sautour of the world seemed to carrie small regard, and lesse expectation of comfort or ease to his owne distresseno, he esteemed it a thing farre more worthie of him, and an act of greater charitie to require pardon for his enimies rather then to seeke solace for his present sorowes, or be careful for his paines to come. Oh redeemer of ỳ world, let it please thee (we beseech thee) that as in ỳ act of the holie sacrifice celebrated by thee vpon the crosse, thou prayedst for thine enimies, and besoughtst thy father to pardon them: that euen by the same bountie thou wouldest also vouchsafe to pray to thy father for vs particularly, saying: *Pater ignosce illis*. For albeit we were not of the number of those that crucified thee, yet we are not exempt from transgressing thy commandements, and are euen with the first that haue offended thee. It sufficed not Christe to say onely, *Pater ignosce illis*, but in excusing them he added, *Nesciunt quid faciunt*: Oh father (saith he) forgiue them, as people that know not the harme that they doe in putting me to death, and as men ignorant of the displeasures that will happen for want that they haue not knowne me: vouchsafe to supplie the fault of their ignorance, *Quia nesciunt quid faciunt*. Rightly spake the Lorde of them, when he sayd, They knowe not what they doe: for ignorance was to them

knowledge, that by his bloud shoulde be appeased the wrath of the father: the seats eftsoones replenished which were made voyde by the offence of the wicked Angels: the olde sinne of Adam defaced, and the vniuersalll worlde redéemed. This was an assured argument of their ignorance, for that they put to death the sonne of GOD, the inheritour of eternitie, the workeman of the worlde, the Lorde of Angels, and he which is not only iust, but iustice it selfe. Truly they knew not what they did, since the time will come wherein shall be redemaunded of them the bloud of the innocent, their citie destroyed, and layde vppon spoyle, their rich temple reuersed, their sacrifices confounded, and their lawe take ende: yea, vntill the reuolution of the worlde, they shall wander as vagaboundes, without law and without king. *Nesciunt quid faciunt*, for by the effusion of that precious bloude, the Church hath succéeded the synagogue: Jesus Christ taken place of Moses: baptisme supplãted circumcision: the Apostles succéeded the Prophets: the olde testament the new: the crosse of Jesus Christe abolished the serpent of brasse: and the sacraments of the Churche defaced the olde sacrifices: so that as they tooke away the life of Jesus Christe with paines on the crosse, so in the same, he put end to their synagogue. Vouchsafe then (oh mercifull Lord) that as thou hast pardoned them who without any submission crucified thée, so, thou wilt also remitte our sinnes, that prostrate afore the accompanie our petitions with teares and humilitie, beseching thée to communicate vnto vs (during the vse of this life) thy spirite of grace and feare, and in the other world the fruition of thy maiestie in glorie.

¶ A discourse afore the Emperour, wherein is touched the conuersion of the good theefe.

Domine memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum,
Lord remember mee, when thou commest into thy kingdome.

To euery

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TO euery christian iudgment, ought to be acceptable this notable saying of Boetius: *Nihil ex omni parte beatum*: as if he had sayde, There is nothing in this world so perfect, wherein cannot be found imperfection, nor any thing so vniuersally blessed, whiche is not subiect to his bale, error, and reprehension: yea, fewe thinges conteine their iust measure, being brought to the yard, and fewer are founde to holde equitie of weight, when they are peysed in the balance. Man of himselfe is so small a matter, and by reason of his frayltie of so weake power and apprehension, that there was neuer prince so mightie, philosopher so wise, capteine so valiant, nor any one so established in blisse, in whose condition coulde not be found occasion of correction, and in their life amendement of behauiour. What is he to whom God hath giuen creation, and the earth disposed her naturall sustenaunce, whiche hath not sorrowed, whiche hath not sinned, and whose doinges haue not bene entangled with error? Yea, if we behold our selues with eyes of our selues, besides that we shall see in our common actions nothing but imperfection, error, and sinne, so also we shal find that the men of the world do many mo things wherin are mo occasions to repent them, then meanes to worke their commendation. *Iustus es domine & rectũ iudicium tuum*, saith the prophete. Righteous is the Lord in all that he doth, and iust in his iudgments: yea, there is more certeintie in the iustice and iudgements of the Lord, then either in the course of the sunne, the reuolution of the heauens, or stabilitie of the earth. Litle honour had Dauid attributed to God in naming him iust, if he had not also said ẏ his custome was to do iustice, as in like sort, it had not been enough to ascribe vnto ẏ Lord the action of iustice, if withal he had not giuen him the name, title, dignitie, & reputation of righteous. For many there are, who are iust in their persons, but do not administer iustice to others: as of the other side, there be such as are instrumẽts in ẏ distribution of iustice to others, & are not righteous in themselues: by reason wherof, we may say, that so high and noble is this priuilege to

do all things well & in their perfection, that God hath reserued it to himselfe, and not vouchsafed to communicate that diuine prerogatiue to any creature. And therfore, all things vpon the which the Lorde bestoweth his eyes and countenaunce, are not onely good, but also we ought to beleeue that in them is no imperfection or error, *Quia vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, & erant valde bona*: which falleth not out so in the actions of man, because in whatsoeuer he enterprizeth or bringeth to passe, is founde good occasion of correction, and iust reason of amendement. For the dayes of our lyfe are so short, and the art which we learne, of so long studie and time, that when we thinke we haue learned any thing, it is then wee stande euen in the chawes of death, and are ready to pearce the pitte prepared for our corrupt bones.

In all the workes of man, there is imperfection, according to ỹ sentence of Socrates, who confessed he had learned no other thing in Athens but to know that he knew nothing; wherein sure he sayd truely. For how rude, vile, or base so euer the art be, wee finde in it alwayes more thinges to learne then we haue learned, the same being the occasion of the Ciuil controuersies now a dayes, wherin ỹ Philosopher reasoneth against the philosopher, the maister against the maister, and ỹ scholer against his mate, disputing and maynteyning opinions onely to seeke out and knowe whiche is he that vnderstandes moste: all whiche proceedes of the little wee knowe, and the muche wee presume, and that none will confesse to be inferiour one to another. *Omnia in pondere & mensura fecisti*, sayth the wise man speaking of God: Thou hast made all things oh Lorde by weight and measure, which being aboue the power and prerogatiue of man, falles out contrarie in all his actions. For all things in this wretched world, beeing guided more by opinion then by reason, it happeneth most often that wee cutt off & abridge that we ought most to increase & lengthen: and of the contrarie, giue continuance and amplification to thinges whiche deserue to be discontinued and diminished. But in the house of God is neyther faction in opinion, nor partialitie in reason: no, who can reasonably haue occasion to com-

GOD hath made all thinges by weight and measure. Wisedome, 11.

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complaine, seing that all thinges that be giues to vs, are layde out by weight and measure? When God had promised to Abraham the land of promise, he seemed forthwith desirous of the possession of it, which the Lorde woulde not agree vnto, afore three hundreth yeares were past and finished, saying vnto him: that *Nondum completa erat malitia Amorrheorum*, meaning, I am the great God of Israel, the Iudge of the quick and of the dead, and of the good and of the wicked, and being he to whom belonges the rodde of righteous iustice, and in whome onely is the propertie to doe equitie to euerie one: it is meete to expect yet in three hundred yeares, to the end ỳ Chanaanites may deserue to lose their lande, and thy race procæde, to be more worthie of it. From the time that king Saule was forgotten of GOD, vntill Dauid was elected ouer Israel, there passed fortie yeares afore the scepter was taken from the one, and the other ioyned to the throne of the kingdome: in which respite of time the Lorde tarried till wicked Saule became worse, and Dauid increased in vertue and goodnesse. Since therefore the giftes and doinges of God are administred by weight and measure, this ought to be the thought and iudgement of euery Christian, that when he sendes aduersities, it is to exercise vs: if he visite vs with pouertie, it is with this intention to make vs deserue better: when he blesseth our estates with plentie, by so much more ought we to retribute vnto him, thankes, seruice, glorie, and obedience: and if he chastiseth vs, oh let vs thinke that he hath meaning to amend and make vs better. So that as all thinges in the world and elsewhere within the circuite and circumference of heauen and earth, were established by his preordinance and foresight, and guided to their effectes by his omnipotent, diuine, and infallible proudence: so, there is nothing that he doth administer or dispearse to his creatures of the worlde, but it is measured with his iustice, and peysed with his wisedome and mercie. And so following effsones our first matter, if it be true (as it is molte cleare from error or falshode) that the Lorde is iust, and in his iudgementes righteous, and doth all things by weight and measure: howe can this be without ap-

A question not impertinent.

parance of contradiction, when he gaue heauen to the theefe without deseruing it, and led him with him into Paradise hauing done to him no seruice. For, sinner for sinner, wicked for wicked, vnthankefull for vnthankefull, and theefe for theefe, it seemes to the aduise and reason of man, that God might aswel haue employed his kingdome in Iudas that had followed him three yeares, as vppon the theefe that accompanied him on the crosse but three houres. *Fur erat & loculos habebat:* it was written of Iudas: he was a theefe, and had the bagge: and of the other it is also written that he was a theefe and a robber: wherein if in the maner and fashion of robbing they were different, much lesse were they like of name and fact: So that if Iesus Christ had taken his kingdome from a wicked man to haue giuen it to a good man, that had bene to doe iustice vprightly: but to take it from one theefe, to bestowe it on another robber, seemes a thing very straite and heard, for that in the worlde there can be nothing worse employed, then that which is giuen to a person vnworthy. God the creator take the right of inheritance from Caine, to bestowe it on Abel: he depriued Ismael to giue it to Isaac, and Esau to transferre it to Iacob: he toke it from Ruben, to bestowe it on Iuda: he deposed Saule to the end to raise Dauid to the Empire, and deprined Helie to aduaunce Samuel: all whiche he did, for that in the one sort of them, he found greate merites, and in the other plentie of wickednesse and abhominable crimes. But in these two theeues the worlde discerned little apparance of merit, and lesse expectation of any good thing in a life so euill disposed as theirs, where being detected iudicially, the verie testimonie of their faultes proued in them sufficient matter to be reprehended and corrected. But since God is of power to pearce into the thoughtes, heartes, and intentions of men, and to him selfe he hath reserued the solution and triall of thinges that he doth: I say that in this, nor in any other case whatsoeuer, there is nothing wherein it is lawfull for man to argue with God. For in this did he iustly send Iudas into hell, and with the same equitie translate the theefe into Paradise, for that the one was worthie of glorie for confessing his trespasse: and the other de-

The solution of the doubt.

God pearceth into the thoughtes and intentions of men.

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deserued to loose it, for that hee was a traytour to the life of his maister.

Let vs not mervaile at the thinges that God doth, and much lesse rise into thought and wonder at the thinges which the almightie in his eternal counsell foreseeth. One man finds out an other by the habite that they beare, but God iudgeth euery one by the heart that he hath, yea he leadeth the actions and effectes of their life, not according to their worldly appetite or wisedome, but as he hath predoordeined in his eternall presence, whereby it followeth that in the souereigne and high tribunal of Jesus Christ, the truth of his iustice neuer was corrupted, nor the measure of his mercie falsified. Therefore if Jesus Christe communicated the kingdome of heauen to the theefe, he did it in these good reasons and considerations: first because he confessed him to be Lord, he accompanied him on the crosse, he rebuked his other companion, acknowledged him selfe to be wicked, died with Jesus Christ, and to him recommended himselfe. Oh infinite bountie and secret iudgmentes of God! seeing that in recompence of a fewe transitorie yeares wherein the theefe was a sinner in the world, the Lord was content to be satisfied with the three houres wherin he became a good man on the crosse: yea, those three houres onely wherein he accompanied Jesus in his passion, serued him more, then the three yeares of the Apostleship of Iudas: and these houres being the last and extreme seasons and respite of his temporal life, he employed so wel, that the more he had sinned at leasure, with so much more deuout diligence he repented, and so much the more soudeinly aspired to his conuersion.

But let vs nowe ioyne to the example of this theefe, his singular excellencies, and withall let it bee a chiefe office in oure Christian duetie to knowe, that the foundation of oure health and heauenly felicitie consistes in the true faith wee haue in IESVS CHRISTE, by meanes whereof as wee ought to doe our duetie, and thereby stand in grace to obteine that wee would or desire, so without this meane wee cannot be saued, nor yet deserue to bee called Christians. For, to bee a Christian, is no other thing then to beleeue in

Faith is the ground of out saluation.

in Jesus Christ our God, and serue him as our redéemer: and that this good théefe was made a Christian, it is a good argument to holde, that he woulde not haue aunswered for Jesus Christe, if hée had not bene a friende to Jesus Christe, neither woulde hée haue recommended him selfe to him as to GOD, had hée not beléeued him to bée God. That this théefe was baptised, we make no doubt, but the manner and place of his baptising, is to vs vnknowne: onely we may say that if there were want of water to performe the ceremonie, there wanted no teares of the mother, nor bloude of the sonne to regenerate him. At the baptisme of Christe was onelie S. Iohn, but at the conuersion of this théefe was Jesus him selfe, his mother, S. Iohn, Marie Magdalene, Nicodemus, and Ioseph, together with the inhabitantes of Ierusalem: vpon whiche we may inferre, that in the house of God, more honour is reserued to good théeues then to wicked Emperours. This théefe was so good a Christian, and beléeued with so great zeale in Jesus Christ, that in faith, he surmounted all those that till then were dead, and withall was no lesse equall to all such as then liued. For publiquely and without feare he confessed Jesus Christe to bée God, where all the others either denied him, or doubted of him. So much the more merite hath the fayth of a Christian (sayth S. Gregorie) by how much lesse the reason of man hath force or vigor of it. So that the merit of our catholique faith consistes not so much in thinges that the eye séeth, as in that the heart beléeueth. But let vs conferre a little the simple beléefe of this théefe, with the faith of those that were deade long afore him, and such also as liued at the instant with him, and we shall finde that by howe muche they excelled him in good life and conuersation, by so muche did he requite it in the recompence of his faith and beliefe. Abraham had faith, but it was by the occasion that God spake to him from heauen. Esay had fayth, but it was because he had séene God in his maiestie. Moses had faith, but it was for that God did communicate with him in a bushe that burned and was not consumed. Ezechiel had fayth, but it was, for that he had séene God enuironed with Seraphims. Greate (sure) was the faith

The mother of Christe.

Ibi fides non habet meritum, vbi humana ratio habet experimentum.

of

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of these holy personages, but much greater (no doubt) was that of this sinnefull theefe: for if they beleeued in God, it was because they had seene him, and spoken face to face to him: but so simple and resolute was the fayth of this theefe, that he beleeued Jesus Christe to be God, and had neither seene his maiestie, nor yet to doe the workes of God: yea though Christe did them, yet he vnderstoode them not. In like sort touching his comparison with suche as were then on liue. We doubt not but Saint Peter had fayth, but it was for that he sawe Christe marche vppon the waues of the sea. Marie Magdalene beleeued, but it was for that he rayled againe her brother Lazarus. The woman of Chanaan had fayth, but it was because she had seene him expell the wicked spirite out of the bodie of her daughter. The Centurion beleeued, because Jesus Christe had healed his seruaunt. And Saint Iohn had fayth, but it was because he had reappoſed in the lap and bosome of Christ. Right tender was the faith that these men had, considering the wonders and miracles which they sawe Christe doe. But oh blessed and happy theefe! who notwithstanding he sawe no action of these greate wonders, neither Christe to commaund the waues, nor stay the wyndes, nor chase out diuels, nor yet raise the deade to life, yet with open voice, he durst confesse his creator, and take him for a redeemer: yea, in calling him Lord, he acknowledged that he had created him, and in crying to him, to haue remembrance of him, hee confessed that he had redeemed him: and therefore as a good and faythfull Christian, he beleeued with his heart, and confessed with his mouth. What habite or apparance of a Lord, sawe he in Christ, when he sayde to him: *Domine memento mei*? Yea, what argument of confidence or assurance could he gather in him: seeing that to whome so euer is called Lord, it apperteines that hee be free, whiche was farre from Jesus Christe, being bound to the Crosse. To be called Lorde, it behoueth to be mightie, or at least competently riche, whiche appeared not in Jesus Christe being naked, dismembred, and crucified: to the port and name of a Lorde belonges greate traine and seruice, which was not expressed in ỳ state of Jesus Christ, who was

forsaken euen of his owne followers: and to the dignitie and place of a Lord, belonges to be wel obeyed and honoured, whiche fell out contrarie in the person of Iesus Christe, for that euery one conspired against him, and opprobriously crucified him betweene two theeues: yea, by so much more worthie was the faith of this theefe, by how much he saw the Lord suffer imprisonment as a man, and whipped and scourged as a man, & yet confessed him to be God, and called him God, saying: *Lord haue remembrance of me*. Since this theefe was executed, and Iesus Christ crucified, great hath beene the number of Saints that beleeued in him, and greater the companie and fellowship of martyrs that haue suffered for his faith. So that the example of the theefe beleeuing vppon so small occasion, puts all posterities in remembrance how iustly we are bound to fire and settle our faith vppon the same sonne of God, whome the theefe acknowledged to be the sautour of the world. In deede the writers of the Gospell make no mention of the race and nation of this theefe, neither what proportion of age he bare, what offences he had done, nor what law he held, for that to Pilate the iudge being a Romane, belonged this prerogatiue, to crucifie indifferently the Gentiles, and apprehend the Iewes: but what mysterie soeuer may be ascribed to the Scripture for vsing silence in this case, let vs gather and beleeue that God is no accepter of persons, but receiuing all sorts that beleeue in him, he makes no difference in his election, whether they be noble, or of base blood, poore or rich, conquerors or captiues, infamous or well renowned: onely it sufficeth that wee repute Iesus Christ as our onely king, and obserue faithfully the precepts he hath left amongst vs: so that, of what sort of sinners soeuer we be, & how late soeuer we come to the crosse, let vs not despaire to be heard, since we read not that to this theefe was ministred either baptisme or confession, nor that he fasted, vsed restitution, nor had repentance, vntil he was committed to execution, when one sigh powred out in faith, sufficed to make him a Christian, and in one onely word pronounced in hope, was vertue to translate his soul into heauen. To rob in infancie, to robb in youth, and to robb in old age, the experience is daily

God in his election maketh no difference of person, age, state, sexe, or calling.

Here is verified the woord of God, that when the sinner hath contrition God will keepe no remembrance of his sinnes.

before

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before our eyes: but to robbe at the very article and instant of death, we neuer reade of any but of this theefe, who then stole the kingdome of heauen. Our originall Father Adam was a theefe, when he stole the apple in paradise. Faire Rachael was a theefe when she robbed the idols from her father Laban. Achior was a robber in stealing the rodde of golde in Hierico. Dauid was a theefe when he conueyed the lance and flasket of water from the beds head of Saule. Iudas was a theefe in stealing the almes of Iesus Christ. And the seruauntes of Dauid were none other then theeues when they stole the water in Bethelem. But amongest them all, none was more famous, more subtile, more notorious, nor more cunning, then this theefe, who robbed, yea, afore he was layed vpon the crosse, and being crucified: for Pilate taking frō him his life on the crosse, he stole from Iesus Christ in the same place, another life. Wherevpon S. Iohn Chrysostome speaking vppon that theefe, sayth, that for theft Adam was chased out of paradise, and for theft this theefe was bestowed in Paradise: he that lost his life by a tree went out of Paradise, and this entred into Paradise that retoueked his lyfe vppon a tree: he was chased out that beleeued not in God, and this entred in because he confessed God to be God: a theef was the first that issued out of Paradise, and a theefe was the first that entred into Paradise: Yea, at the houre of mid-day, God did iustice of the first theefe, and at nonetyde he pardoned this theefe: with whome the Lorde graunte vs to be theeues, not to steale the apple as did Adam, nor the idols with Rachael, nor the flaskette as Dauid did, nor the golden rodde with Achior: but to steale for our selues the blessed fruition of the Maiestie of God, whiche beeing the praye of this theefe, he is thereby become perpetually happie, euen in the bosome of Abraham the Father of fayth.

Matth. 26
Actes. 5.

¶ The good theefe, hauing none other thing to offer to God, offered him his heart and his tongue.

Saint

SAinct Paule, hauing seene the great secrets of God (of which it belongeth not to man to speake) being asked what we ought to do to please God, aunswered: *Commendat vobis Deus charitatem suam*: the chiefeste thing (sayeth he) whiche God recommends vnto you, is charitie which consisteth in this, that you loue him, as he loueth you, which you shall more easily accomplish if you loue your Christian neighbour, not so much for that he loueth you, as for that he loueth and delighteth in God. Wherein the Apostle doth not so expressely say, that God recommends vnto vs, his faith, his hope, his patience, his chastitie, and his humilitie: but aboue all thinges, he inioyneth vs to haue charitie, as thereby to giue vs to vnderstand, that that man that delighteth truely in God, cannot be reproued of any vice. For what can be lacking to him that wanteth not charitie, as also who wanteth charitie, is imperfecte in all other vertues?

We ought to loue oure neighbour for that he loueth God.

Let the charitable man, and he that delightes to be pitiful, be assured that God wil alwayes lend him his hand to the end he decrease not in faith, lose not his hope, defile not his chastitie, despise not humilitie, nor forget patience. For afore the tribunal and iudgement seate of God, is neuer vsed cruelltie to him that on earth hath exercised charitie. *Si charitatem non habeo, factus sum sicut sonans aut cymbalum tinniens*, saith the Apostle: though I speake (saith he) as an Angel, and all other vertues (except charitie) were familiar with me, yet I should be but as a bell, that calleth the people to seruice, and yet entereth not therein it selfe. The man then that is not charitable, but taketh delight in his rigor, is no way worthie of the name of a Christian, and much lesse deserueth to be called friend, because that in the heart, wherein is not lodged charitie, shall neuer be found fidelitie. If we aske the scripture what thing charitie is, we shall finde by many textes that it is a vertue drawing to none other effecte, then to loue God for himselfe, and our neighbour for the loue of God: whereupon the loue of God and the feare of God, ought alwayes so to be coupled

He that loueth God can not perish.

1. Cor. 13.

Charitas est eum diligimus Deum propter se, & proximum propter Deum.

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within the hearts of the iust, that we neuer ought to feare God onely to the end he preserue vs from hell, nor loue him altogether in this respecte that he graunt vs Paradise: but we ought both to loue and feare him, because he is the supreame and souereigne God, and on whom doth depend and come all felicitie. If men loue one an other, it is either for benefites alreadie receiued, or for hope of good turnes to come: but in the house of God, there is no sufferance nor custome of such affections. For such is ỳ nature, measure, and proportion of Gods goodnesse towardes vs, that the respecte and intention of our zeale ought not to consist onely for that he is all in all for vs, but because the greatnes of his goodnes deserueth it, by which occasion the prophete cryed oftentimes, *Paratum cor meum*, the better to instructe vs that his heart was not onely readie to loue the Creator, but also to beare affection to the creature. That man is ignorant in charitie who esteemeth himselfe to loue God, and hath no care of his neighbour: and lesse is he a follower of charitie that is reputed to beare affection to his neighbour, and loueth not God, since that al our Christian charitie consistes in this, to do seruice to Jesus Christ, and worke some good or benefite to our neighbour. For, the Lord beares such a zeale to the Christian soule, that in louing vs he will be alone and singular, and when we loue him, he will be accompanied: the same being contrarie to the loue of the world, with whome it is not suffered to haue the heart diuided into many partes, but in the diuine loue and holy affection of the Lord, we are required to loue Jesus Christ, and haue care ouer our neighbour, specially if he be a Christian: for, otherwise we ought to wish vnto him good, and eschewe his conuersation. This discourse haue I brought in, to expresse and testifie the wonderful charitie which the good theefe had on the crosse, who in the perplexitie of death, and in a smal moment of time, gaue good declaration of the affection he bare to Jesus Christe, and rightly published the zeale he had to saue his companion the wicked theefe: besids, he was not without feruent desire to relieue his sauiour of the paines he suffered, which he wel testified in the seruice he did to him. For, dissembled loue is shewed in the

The man of God loues not his neighbour for any worldly respect but for God.

in the propertie of speache, where the true friendshipp and affection is expressed in the seruice and giftes that are ministred: the same appearing (for the moste part) amongst our vaine worldlinges, with whome swéete and allureing wordes are familiar, but the office and effect of seruice are moste commonly forgotten: where in déede, whose loue is chaste, and ioyned with the holy loue of God, there, their mouthes kéepe silence, and their handes minister distribution. Caine offered to God fruites of the earth. Abel brought firstlinges and of the fattest of his flocke. Noe presented muttons. Abraham gaue pigions. Melchisedech brought bread and wine. Moses incense. Dauid gold and siluer. Ieptha sacrificed his daughter. And Annas Samuel his sonne. All which offeringes presented by those holy personages beare great reckoning, and are much to be accomted of: but farre more worthie was the seruice and sacrifice of this theefe, for that where they offered to God thinges apperteining to their houses, he presented to the Lorde his proper heart, wherein he discouered a difference betwéene the oblation of thinges that we haue neare vs, and to make an offering of our selues. Therefore let no man maruell why I debate so much in praise of this theefe. For, if I be asked what it was that he offered, I may eftsones make a question, what it was that he kept for himselfe. When one man giueth to another his proper being, doth he not giue by consequence his will and abilitie? This theefe gaue not to God his eyes, for that they were cloased vp and shut: he gaue him not golde nor siluer, hauing lost all by the iustice of his offence: he could not compart with him his cloths, being ryfeled by the executioners: he offered him not his handes and facte, for that the one were nailed and the other bound: and muche lesse coulde he communicate with him his body, for that it was crucified: onely he offered that which he had remaining, whiche was his heart, wherewith he beléeued: and his tongue by the which he confessed him to be God. So that as he testified his faith and affection towardes God, with all that he had in his power, so we haue to thinke, þ if there had remayned in him any propertie of more precious or greater thinges, he woulde therewith haue made

seruice

seruice and offeringes to the Lorde. *Multiplicati sunt super capillos capitis mei, & cor meum dereliquit me.* I am falne into that age (sayth Dauid) that I haue no more sight remaining. Mine enimies haue enuironed me, my friendes are dead, my sinnes haue made me fall, and my good dayes are now drawne to end; so that my griefes, sorrowes, and perplexities, are more in number, then my haires, but my greatest heauinesse of all, is, that my heart hath forsaken me. Who loseth his eyes, and the other particular partes of his bodie, together with all his goods, can not but lose right deare and great thinges, but he that loseth his heart, loseth assuredly all that can remaine or appertayne to a man. For that within the wombe of our mothers, the heart is the first that ingendereth and taketh life, and the last that dissolueth and vanisheth to death: so that, like as so long as our hearts leaue vs not, we may both loue, feare, and serue God: so also, if the heart lose his vigor and giue vs ouer, assuredly we haue neither power nor facultie to fast, pray, or persenere in breath. And therefore (according to Saint Hieromie) it is a greate gifte of God to be endued with a constant and valiant mynde: as on the other syde, to haue faintnesse of hearte and pusillanimitie, cannot but beare testimonie and praise of greate punishement. *Audi popule, & audi qui non habes cor*, (sayth God by his Prophete Ieremie:) Heare, my voyce, Oh generation of Israel, and hearken to my wordes, Oh people of the Hebrues. I call thee Fole because thou art without hearte, yea, I say thou hast no heart because thou art a fole. Where the Prophete in this phrase charged the people to haue no hearte, he imposed vppon them infidelitie, as though they had neither faith nor belefe in Jesus Christe the true God, because that like as when the hart dyeth, the life dissolueth, euen so by Christe aspiring vppon the crosse, the synagogue toke ende. So that the prophete was not without great reason to call the Hebrues foles and men without heart, seeing the testimonie of so many miracles sufficed them not, and much lesse were they satisfied with the number of benefites and blessings, with infinite Sermons performed by our sauiour Jesus Christe, all tending to make them Christians, and yet wrought

Psalm. 119.

By the death of Christ toke ende the synagogue.

wrought small impression in them by reason of their slender knowledge & great follie: euen so, according to morall phrase, when we say any man hath want of heart, it is as much as if we should charge him not to haue Jesus Christe in his spirite: for that as vndertaking to doe any good worke, Jesus Christe is he that giues vs hart, and puts vs in reason: euen so by good conclusion, that man (we may say) is depriued of reason and vnfurnished of heart, which loues not Christe, thinckes not on Christ, serues him not, feares him not, and hopes not in him, so that in the Lawe of God, to call a man without heart, is no other thing then to say he hath a bodie without a soule. *Omni custodia custodi cor tuum*, (sayeth the wise man.) Euery one ought to keepe and double gard his hart, to the end it be not defiled by the flesh, oppressed of the world, deceiued by the diuel, and that it be not altogether exercised by his friend, nor outraged by his enimie. For that, euen so much and no more haue we in Jesus Christ, then we giue vnto him possession and place in our heart: wherein according to the measure of our confidence in God, we shall finde recompence and retribution in him: yea, if we giue our selues altogether to him, he will assuredly be wholy ours. So that all those thinges which the Lord giues vnto vs being holy, heartie, or vnfeigned, it belongs to vs (the better to prepare our offeringes to God, euen from our heartes, fired in our heart and vnfeignedly to touch our heart) to keepe oure heartes alwayes replenished with holy desires, and enuironed with good thoughtes. For which occasion it sufficed not the wiseman, to bidd vs simply keepe our hartes: but he inioyned vs to a double and diligent gard, the better to aduertise vs, that as the eyes may be preserued by their eyelids, the mouth defended by the lipps, the feete and hands kept from harme by armour and gauntlets, and a mans treasure holden from the theefe vnder locke and key: so, there can nothing in this world suffice to forbid an ambitious minde to thinke and desire. And so, falling oftsoones vppon our firsh matter, I say, that much doth that man offer to God, that offereth his heart: as alsowhat hath he more to lose that loseth his hart? ye same appearing in the conuersion of this good theefe, who, euen as he

hanged vppon the crosse, because he offered to God onely his heart, founde this recompence, to be carried into the eternall tabernacle of God, and to communicate in his glorie. Let then the example of this theefe stande before vs all, that notwithstanding we haue not hands, feete, eyes, siluer, gold, pretious iewels, or clothes to offer to God, yet let vs not be troubled or greeued: for, who hath not these thinges in his power, let him not doubt to be acceptable to the Lorde, if he present his heart replenished with holy desires. The sister of Moses was diseased, Moses himselfe stutted, Tobias was blinde, Mimpheboseth was lame, and Zacharias the priest was dumb, yet these imperfections hindered not these men to be holie and vertuous, yea God called some of them to the function and ministerie of his will. If we haue our heartes whole, holy, and sounde, the Lorde obserues little the state of our other members, no, he makes no care whether they be perfect or putrified. For, this theefe, in his sentence of condemnation and death, had his limmes bruised and broken, his mouth, his eyes, and whole bodie crucified: but his heart onely reteining integritie, he offered it to his sauiour, and by his faith and constancie, purchased the benefite of saluation. And albeit, in so smal a respit of time, in so quick and sharpe tormentes, and in so greeuous apprehension of the dolors and terrors of death suffered by this theefe on the crosse, he coulde persourme no greate penaunce, erpresse no varietie or copie of speache, or vtter apparant remorse by sighes, sorrow or publique cõtrition: yet, for that to his passions he ioyned greatnes and constancie of heart, with faith & deuotion to God, the Lorde did accept, not onely that which he did then, but also what he woulde haue done, if he had not bene prevented by death.

C hrist requires but the offering of oure heart.

¶ Howe wickedly the euill theefe spake hanging on the crosse.

How wicked ly the euill theefe spake hanging on the crosse.

The wicked theefe, speaking to Iesus Christ sayd: If thou be that same Christe that is the sonne of God, deliuer thy selfe from death, and vs from this passion of tormentes. Oh cursed impudencie to pronounce such horrible blasphemie against the maiestie of our Sauiour! For, albeit the sonne of God was committed to the crosse, and in the companie of robbers did suffer a slaunderous death: yet it was not for that he had any communitie with the offences of the theeues, and much lesse suffered for his proper crimes, but for the sinnes of the worlde. *Qui non rapui tunc exsoluebam*: I make (saith Christe by the Prophete) satisfaction for the faultes done by others, others haue eaten the apple, and yet I pay the price of it: though I haue committed no crime, yet mine innocencie is put to punishment: Yea, where others haue troubled the common weale, I am committed to iustice, and hauing no nature or effect of offence in me, yet I passe vnto death for the sinnes of the whole worlde. Right iust was the occasion of our Sauiour to holde such argument: for that, if they crucified vnder a moste smarting and infamous death, it was not for that he had deserued it, but to the end that by it mankind shoulde be redeemed. This theefe, laide not with sueritie that he was Christe, and therefore, by making wicked doubt and question whither he were the sonne of God or not, he deserued not (with his companion) to be made a Christian: But the good theefe, making no doubt of his omnipotencie, sayde absolutely: Lorde haue remembraunce of me, and therefore was not onely adopted to Christianitie, but also there was ioyned to his faith, recompence of eternall saluation. In the same manner S. Peter saide not, If thou be Christ, I will beleeue in thee, but he protested in bolde fayth and cried, I beleeue that thou art the Sonne of the euerliuing God. For who will receiue the grace and blessing of God, his faith ought to be without scrupul or dout. He that will obteine any thing of God (sayth the Apostle) it apperteines to him to aske it with a faith that is not doubtfull: for if God giue vs

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not forthwith that which we demaunde him, it is more for that we know not how to aske him, then that he is harde to graunt our requests. Let it then be farre from vs to say with the wicked theefe, If thou be Christ saue thy selfe and vs also: but let vs rather with the blind man of Hierico, say, O sonne of Dauid haue pitie vppon vs. For, so shall we be made to see with the blinde man, and not carried into damnation with the theefe: who, in saying to Christ, *Saluu temet ipsum & nos*, thought to persuade him to leaue the passions of the crosse, and put him self in libertie, and deliuer him from death. For this was the opinion of this wicked theefe, that euen as Pilate put on him ỹ sentence of death for his thefts & robberies: euen so also there was no lesse guiltinesse in Christ as being vntruly holden a seducer of the people, and a man contrarie to the common weale: and therefore he thought, that as the terrors of death made him vnwilling to die, so also there remayned in Christe a desire to liue longer: Wherein his error was so much the greater, by howe much, he considered not that there was necessitie of Christes death for the redemption of the world: for which cause though he wished to liue longer, yet our sauiour desired the present stroake of death, according to his owne wordes to his disciples: *Desiderio desideraui hoc pascha manducare vobiscum*, At other times (saith he) I haue celebrated with you this feast, the whiche at this present I esteeme to bee truely passeouer in holy scripture. The doubling and retteration of a worde, is a signe of a vehement, and greate desire, the which was well expressed in the zeale of our sauiour, who by this phrase, *Desiderio desideraui*, published manifestly that he had no lesse desire to dye for vs, then moste desirous to redeeme vs. For, of that nature was his thirst and desire to ouercome our perpetuall death, that he expected nothing more then the houre wherein he might employ for vs his moste holy and vndefiled life. There was great similitude and likenesse betweene the blasphemie of this wicked theefe and the request of the Iewes, who willed him to descend from the crosse, and they would all beleeue in him: whervnto if our sauiour had condescended and abandoned

doned the agonies of the crosse, all the worlde had stand crucified with death, sinn, & the perpetual perplexities of hel. Oh wicked theefe! Oh people hardened & obstinate! If Christ had come downe from ỳ crosse according to your requests, or if he had diuided himselfe from ỳ paines of death, folowing ỳ blasphemous motion of the condemned theefe, muche lesse hadde it bene happie with any sort of people, but of the contrarie, hell had bene alwayes open for you, and the gates of Paradise perpetually cloased agaynst our posterities. For, the Lord came not to descende, but to mount and ascende, not to eschue the crosse, but to die vppon it. *Cum exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me ipsum*, sayeth our Lord Jesus Christe: Because now I go preaching from one countrie to another, & that I haue my riches dispersed, you can not haue knowledge of my might, nor of the vertue & benefits that are in my power: but whē you see me electee & chosen to the crosse, euen in the same place I shall be my treasure. This speach truly is of greate admiration for the good sort, and leaues no little feare to the wicked: *Omnia traham ad me ipsum*, by the which we are instructed, that who will obteine any thing of Jesus Christe, ought to aske it vppon the crosse. For, neuer was the Lorde so liberall as when he was crucified, at no time so ryche as when he was naked, nor at any time so mightie as when he was condemned to death: al these treasures did Christ bring with him from heauen to earth, and from the earth he caried them with him to the trē of his suffering, & being there he dispersed them throughout the worlde: so that he that is founde more neare the crosse of our Sauiour, on him is bestowed the moste plentifull reward. It was on the crosse that he recommended his soule to his father, his Churche to S. Peter, to Nicodemus his bodie, and to the good theefe the ioyes of Paradise. It was on the crosse where he commaunded the sonne to hyde his light, the stones to breake, the vaile of the temple to rent, the graues to open, and the dead to rise agayne: (which carrieth an assured testimonie that in his death was wrought the effect of our life.) It was on the crosse that he spake to his Father, gaue comfort to his mother, and

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remembraunce of his disciple, pardoned the beleeuing theefe, and illumined the Centurion, to the end he might know Jesus Christ to be the redeemer, and confesse himselfe a sinner. It was on the crosse, where his side was opened, his bloud shed, where he shewed moste plentifully his charitie, expressed moste mildely his patience, and vsed greatest clemencie: yea, it was the place where his death toke ende, and our redemption receiued beginning. Lastly, vppon the crosse he was crowned as king, saluted as king, and hayled with title of king: so that all these being true, howe could it stand with any congruent reason, that he shuld abandon the crosse which brought to him so many preeminences? Oh Souereigne sauiour and loue of our soules! let vs not beseeth thee with the Iewes, to descend from the crosse, nor in the corrupt affection of the theefe, to abandon the paynes thereof: but graunt (Oh Lorde) that with thee we may be joyned to the crosse: where, let vs not require that thou giue vs to eate, since in that place thou haddest but gall, and for thy drinke was reserued most sharpe vineager: let vs not require garmentes, since thou wast all naked: let vs not craue liberte, since thou wast bound: and much lesse haue we reason to entreate for life, since thou diddest not refuse the execution of death. That which we haue to require of thee, is, that it will please thee to giue vs part and communion in this crosse, since in it, thou haste with such plentie bestowed thy graces. For well we knowe (Oh Lorde) that thou dost neuer communicate thy loue and affection, but to such as fast in the paynes and passions. By all this discourse we may gather, what heart we ought to haue to enterprise any good worke, together with what magnanimitie of courage to execute it, seeing that euen when we meane to beginne to doe well, wicked spirites are then moste neare vs, and readiest prepared to deceiue vs. For the stealth doth pricke and quicken vs, men draw vs backe, and the world workes to our vexation and trouble. Albeit many were the occasions in Jesus Christ being on the crosse, to abandon death: as firste the importunities of the Iewes, the persuasions of the theefe, ye bitter ago-

nies of death, the sorrowes of the daughters of Hierusalem, the scornes and scoffes of straungers passing that way, and lastely, the small thankes and recompence that men attributed to him for that passion: yet they were not sufficient to tempt him from the execution of his fathers commandement, nor to let him to accomplishe all that whereunto his charitie bounde him, for the fulfilling of our redemption. For, when he sayd on the crosse, I am a thirst, it was not for any appetite he had to drinke, but he spake it rather in a vehement will and desire to endure yet more for the health of our soules.

¶ The good theefe rebuked his fellowe hanging on the Crosse.

Neque tu times deum qui in eadum dãnatiõe es: nos quidem digna factis recipimus, hic autẽ quid mali fecit?

The good theefe hearing the wicked discourse of his companion against Jesus christ, couldnot but minister this rebuke. Weighing (saith he) with the horror of our life past, our present estate drawing to the extremitie of death, I marvell that thou haste no feare of God, and art without shame of that thou sayest, seeking to crucifie this Prophet with thy toung, as these raging tormenters doe with the violence of their handes. Oh, thou knowest not that as this Innocent neuer did ill to any; so in thee and mee was neuer found any good. Feue were the wordes which this theefe spake, but right great mysteries are touched in them, and therefore it is needefull that we heare them with gravitie, and pronounce them in charitie. And albeit it is moste sure that God the Almightie creator, is by power, all in all thinges: yet particularly by grace is he more manifested by the heart and tongue of man, then through any other member of the body, as they being the two instruments wherewith we doe most serue him, and oftnest offend him. For, the eyes become wearie with seeing, the eares withdraw we from hearing, the hands refuse to worke, the feete forbeare to goe, and ye whole

God is more manifested in the heart and toung, then by any other member of the body.

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bodie may be greeued to sinne: but it is the heart which neuer putts end to his thoughtes, and the tongue is seldome wearie of speaking.

The good king Dauid was vpright in iudgement & sound of bodie, and yet praying to God (for ỳ most part) he obserued these two petitions: *Cor mundũ crea in me Deus*, And, *Domine labia mea aperies*. Wherein he required of God, to raise in him a heart cleare and innocent, and also to blesse him with a tongue that should not pronounce any thing contrarie to his will. For, albeit he receiued griefes and disquiets by his other members, yet he knew he could neuer be vãquished of them, for that it is one principall signe that we are in the grace of God, when he blesseth vs with a heart replenished with pure intentions, and giues vs a tongue refrained from speaking euill: yea, it is a true foundation and testimonie of good Christians, to beleeue in God with our heart, and sett forth his praises with our tongue. Such was the people of Israel in the grace of God, when by Ieremie he said to them, *Ego dabo eis cor nouum*. And no lesse fauoured was Ezechiel of that almightie worker of all things, when he said, *Ego aperiam os tuum in medio eorum*, As if he had said to Israel, In signe of the great amitie I haue with thee, I will illumine thy heart: and because thou art my seruaunt (Oh Ezechiel) I will open thy mouth, to the end thou mayest publish and preach my power and might: For right small is the number of those which atteine to my knowledge, and farre fewer are they that preache sincerely my name. Yea, albeit a man haue the facultie to read, to interpret, to studie, and to beliuer, yet he hath not for al that, the full facultie of a true apostolique preacher. For, it is no small gift & blessing of the Lord, to know how to preach well and pronounce his word and will. Great therefore was the liberalitie which Christ vsed on the crosse, seeing that the grace of newnesse of heart which he gaue to Israel, and the spirite and power of wel preaching, whiche he imparted to Ezechiel, he infused both together into this good theefe, touching his heart to make him beleeue in him, and opening his mouth to the end he might publish and preach his name. By

Signes and testimonies of a good Christian.

which is happened, that after the sermons of Iesus Christe, and afore the preachings of the Apostles, this good theefe was the first that preached in the Church: yea, euen where he was crucified, and in the presence of the people, he magnified that which Christ did, and reproued his companion of blasphemie, saying: *Neque tu times Deum qui in eadem damnatione es?* I see (saith he) thou hast no feare of God, and art in the way to bee damned, therefore behold me, and thinke vppon thy selfe. To teach the ignorant, and reduce to trueth him that is in error, is a worke of charitie proceeding of great bountie, which was expressed in the behauiour of this theefe warning his companion to consider that he was condemned to death, hauing by his side the sonne of God in whome was power to pardon his offences, and withall to deliuer him from the perpetuall agonies of hell. Oh! to how many of our companions and frends may we say with this good theefe, that they are out of feare of god, that they wander in their proper destruction, that they are replenished with vices, and doe not obserue one of Gods commaundements. But, by so much more wretched is our condition, by how much one friend dare not warne an other, for that all friendship nowe a dayes standes vppon these leagues and termes; not to correcte one an other, but rather to couer, and dissemble, and suffer communitie of euill. It is a wonderfull confusion to see one sinner admonishe an other, and a theefe to reproue a theefe, and yet one Christian dare not rebuke an other: no rather, they will endure their vices, then diuide themselues from their friendship. Not to admonish his friend of his honour, or not to aduise him of his wealth, may happen and is tolerable, but not to admonish him of that which concerneth his conscience, is hatefull, and ought not to be borne withall: for, that in thinges touching the honour of God, we are bound not to dissemble with our father, nor to yeeld consent to our dearest friend. Nathan reproued Dauid, Samuel rebuked Saule, Micheas admonished Achab, Helias reproued Iezabel, S. Iohn rebukes Herod, and S. Paule reproued S. Peter, not so much for hauing erred and sayled, as for offending God: the better to admonish vs that him wee ought

Mans friendshipp is maintayned by supportation of vices.

2. Reg. 12.
2. Reg. 20.

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ought to hold as enimie, whome we knowe doth not loue God, *Nonne qui oderunt te, inimici facti sunt mihi?* Oh great God of Israel (saith Dauid) the greatest seruice that I haue done thee, is, that all my life time I haue hated those that loued not thee, eschued such as followed not thy lawes, was a stranger to such as searched not thy precepts, and none haue beene worse welcome to my companie, then such as bare to thee no seruice. I would ẏ example of Dauid might be embraced now a dayes, or that to Christian friends were ioyned such propertie of affection, so should there be no vice in mens friendship, nor toleration of wickednes, for that if euill men were not supported by their friends, iustice and discipline would either speedily determine their liues, or shame and instruction lead them to amendement of manners. Great then was the charitie of this theefe to his companion, and the pitie not little which he had of Iesus Christ, whereof as he defended the one, and perswaded the other, so his vertue conclues in good authoritie, that it is a true effect of our Christian pietie, to yeeld compassion to such as are troubled, and reduce him that is out of the way. After this good theefe was committed to God, and confessed his sinnes to Iesus Christe, and auntwered for him, he begun then to lift vp his voyce, and say vnto him: *Domine memento mei cum veneris in regnum tuum*, wherein, with iust reason, he calles him Lord, for that it is resolute with God, not to take pitie or mercie vpon vs, if first we acknowledge not in him his diuinitie: and therefore in the old times when God spake with the Hebrues, he vsed commonly this phrase, *Hec dicit Dominus*, &c. the better to aduertise ẏ nations and people of the earth, that all kinges and princes of this world are in all things, no other thing but gouernours and deputies, and to God alone belonges all soueraigne and supreme potentacie: In which respect, it behoueth vs aboue all things, to confesse God to be Father and soueraigne Lord, and to honour his blessed sonne by the name of Lord and redeemer, for that it is directly to renuncie his ordinarie power to pardon sinne in any man, which doth not acknowledge in God predomination and Lordship. Let vs therefore, with the humili-

tie, faith, and conformitie of this theefe, say: *Domine memento mei*: For this ought to be an office in our beliefe, that if we confesse God to be sole creator, & serue him as our soueraigne Lord, he will not misknow vs as straungers, specially if we acknowledge vs to apperteine vnto him. The second word of this theefes petition was, *Memento mei*, agreeing with the inuocation of Solomon, *Da mihi sedium tuarum assistricem sapientiam, vt sciam quid acceptum sit coram te omni tempore*: Sap. 9. Giue me, O Lord, part in thy wisedome, to the ende I may doe the thinges agreeable to thee, and tending to my saluation. Notwithstanding, that Solomon, amongest all the kinges of Hierusalem, was most peaceable, most rich, renowned, and most wise; yet, with all these qualities, he durst not demaund of God, but wisedome, and that not without great reason, for albeit a man knoweth that whiche he would haue, yet he is ignorant in that which is necessarie for him. And as we liue in God more then in our selues, and that God loues vs aboue our proper affections, so, it is he that knoweth better then our selues what we would haue of him, and what we want, and is needefull for vs: for which cause this well aduised and good Christian theefe would aske no other thing, but that the Lord would haue remembrance of him, instructing vs by that, that God bearing to vs such plentiful zeal and affection, there is no great neede to trouble him with importunities, but onely with a feruent heart put him in remembrance of those things we desire to haue, saying: *Domine memento mei*, Lord that hast created me, haue remembrance of me, Lord that hast redeemed mee forget mee not, and thou Lord in whome I beleeue, be mindfull of mee: Vouchsafe Oh Lord to drawe me to thee selfe: Oh loue of my soule, haue remembrance of me, since thou hast formed me of earth, and since thou hast breathed into me a soule, made me man, hast employed thy life for me, vouchsafe to be mindefull of me, to the end there bee no spoile made of my soule: yea, since thou hast suffered thy passion for me, resisted so many temptations, and spilt so much of thine innocent bloud, as satisfied the price of my vile and wretched sinnes, I beseech thee be mindefull of mee,

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Here is to be noted, that this theefe, in these humilities to God, said not: Lord haue remembrance of my children, my wife, my friends, or my labours and traueiles, but said onely, Lord remember me: aduising vs, that in this world there is nothing which we ought to hold so deare, as the reckoning of our conscience according to the expresse text of our Sauiour, to the mother and children of Zebedeis, *Nescitis quid petatis*: because that afore they asked pardon for their sinnes, they demaunded realmes and kingdomes: and before they sought to purge the transgression of their soules, they aspired to be set one of the right and the other of the left hande of Jesus Christe. But the wise Chanaanite woman, afore she sayd *Filia mea male a demonio vexatur*, cryed, *Miserere mei*, suing first for pardon for her selfe, afore she sought the recouerie of her daughter: for that, so good is the Lorde our God, that if he loue not him that requires him: he graunteth him not that he demaundes. But thrise happie was this theefe, who afore all thinges desired the Lorde, to haue remembrance of him when he came into his kingdome: whereby, demaunding pardon and remission of his sinnes he obtained the kingdome of heauen more easily then he thought for. Abraham demanded of God linage, and there was giuen to him a sonne of whose race Christe descended according to the flesh. Iacob prayed for the redeliuerie of Beniamin, which he saw accomplished. Tobias beseeching God for the returne of his sonne from Niniuie, imbraced him safely restored, and richely maried. Iudith prayed to God to chase away Holophernes and his campe from her towne of Bethulia, and he put the enimie into her power. Anna, in great compassion desired issue, and she brought forthe Samuel the Prophete: and loe, this good theefe besought God to haue remembrance of him in ye other world, & the Lord did not only pardon him in this world, but also glorifie him in his eternal kingdome. Right true & absolute is ye testimonie of the scripture, speking of the liberalitie of God, *Quod ipse dat omnibus affluenter*. God giues to al men great abundance. Which is contrarie to ye maner of the princes of the world, who if they giue, it is not in plentie, & if they

distribute

distribute in fulnesse, they giue it to fewe. But such is the bountie and blessed liberalitie of our Lorde, that he refuseth not to giue that which is demaunded, and much lesse giues in penurie that which is required of him. Psal 144. *Aperis tu manum tuam & imples omne animal benedictione.* All those in this world, (saith the prophet) that giue any thing, giue it close fisted, (as the saying is.) But the Lorde alwayes increaseth in liberalitie, with his hands open: who, as he is pitifull to pardon, so also in his rewardes and recompence, he expresseth high liberalitie. Here also is to be noted, that this theefe in his invocation to Christ, did not desire the Lord to haue remembrance of him, to ỹ end he were not crucified, nor required him to be myndfull of him ỹ he might escape the perils of death, since it was he onely that gaue life: but he sayde onely, Lorde forget me not when thou commest into thy kingdome: For, seeing thee on thy knees afore Pilate (saith he) and being asked whether thou were a king and had realmes, I heard thee aunswere that thy kingdome was not of this worlde. Which being true, I beseech thee, Oh sweet comfort of my soule, that when thou art in possession of thy kingdome of rest, thou wilt then haue remembraunce of me, being the greatest sinner in the worlde. This theefe, seing God in presence, hearing him speak in person, and touching him with his handes, and would not demaund of him other things then of the world to come, can not but put men in a maze, and draw euen Angels to admiration. From the houre that our blessed Sauiour suffered his bloud to be dispersed vppon the crosse, there hath beene great effect and vertue of it in the Churche, whereof appeared right good testimonie in the discourse and action of this theefe, whose life and whole course of his behauiour, hauing bene infected with wicked conuersation, he demaunded presently to be made a neighbour of the Hierarchies, and companion to our redeemer: and hauing done no seruice to God, he asked of him (with full mouth) the kingdome of heauen, which he obteyned, not so muche through the merite of his inuocation and prayers, as by the meane and vertue of the bloud of Iesus Christe: wherein there is no reason to

doubt

doubt but as our Lord was ready to yeald vp the spirite, and that the effusion of his bloud prepared to an end, so, this good theefe sawe the heauens open together with the great glory layed vp for our Sauiour, by which occasion he cryed in suertie of faythe: *Memento mei cum veneris in regnum tuum:* For other wayes it had bene in vaine for a theefe to haue demaunded with suche boldnesse the kingdome of infallible felicitie. But whether the maiestie and presence of heauen were open to him or not, there is no necessitie of reasoning: onely let vs ioyne our selues to his sayth and opinion, and with his prayer let vs call vpon the Lorde, to remember vs when he comes into his kingdome: for, there may we be sure he will remember vs, since in this world he will not recompence the seruices that we haue done to him, and in the other he will lay vpon vs the offences we haue committed against his maiestie. Let vs beseech him that if in recompence that we are baptised, if for the renoune, name, and title we beare of Christians, if for that we were his seruants, and specially if byeause he hath redeemed vs it will please him to blesse vs with any rewarde, let it not be bestowed vppon earth, but when we shall be established in the estate and maiestie of his kingdome. For all such as he markes with recompence and rewarde in the booke of this world, it is a signe that he hath razed them out of the register of heauen. Isaac was aduaunced more then Ismael, Iacob preferred aboue Esau, Iuda fauored more then Ruben, Ioseph raysed aboue his brethren, and Nahabor aduanced to the vines of Samaria: But let vs pray for no other aduauncement then, *Dum veneris in regnum tuum*: for out of this house all honours, all preferments, all riches and dignities are contemptible.

For the end of this discourse, we haue to note that Christ pardoning this theefe, sayde not, *Amen dico vobis*, but speaking singularly, he sayde, *Amen dico tibi*: whereby as in the manner and estate of his pardon he manifested his mercie, so, in forgiuing him alone, he shewed his vpright iustice. Many nations & men of sundrie qualities & countries, standing then ronnd about the crosse, would haue bene glad to haue obteyned

obteined remission, but amongest them all to this theefe onely was graunted pardon, the better to aduertise vs, that since he forgaue him, we should not despaire by the same meane to obteine remission: and since he pardoned but him alone, let vs not sinne the more in hope that he will pardon vs: so for conclusion let vs not forget, that he forgaue the people afore they had transgressed, and pardoned the theefe after hee had sinned, by which we are instructed to feare his iustice, and to remember his mercie, whiche it may please him to exhibite towardes vs here by grace, and in the world to come by glorie.

¶ A discourse, expounding this text of the Psalme,

Irascimini & nolite peccare. Be angrie and sinne not.

CHrist, grieuing still with the increase of abuses in the temple, saw great necessitie of discipline, and therefore in one day, hee whipped out the vsurers, reuersed their exchaunges, and dispersed their treasures. Wherein we haue to note which of these two thinges were of most importance, either the zeale that Christe had, or the fault that was in them, being sure that men committing such cursed and miserable sinnes, God for recompence, sendes vppon vs great and heauie punishments. To hold that Christ was not moued to doe this by a spirite of good zeale, were to falsifie the trueth: & to say that in this that he did, he did euill, cannot be without imputation of blasphemie. For, in the eternall lawe of God it cannot hold concord or comparison, to be a sinner, and to be called redeemer. Before S. Iohn said, *Ecce agnus Dei*, he pronounced, *Ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*: wherein he both confesseth him an vndefiled lambe, and after extolles him to take away the sinnes of the world. One sinner may helpe to make an o-

another god, but yet hath he no power to pardon the least offence that is: and therefore to affirme, that Christe in any his actions was pushed forewarde by choler, or sinned in the transgression of ire, it were both heresie, and a sinne desperate: for that, as touching sinne, and error, our Lorde was so limited and restrained, that he neither coulde nor had power therevnto. By this text of the prophet, *Irascimini & nolite peccare*, is giuen vs to vnderstande, that we may be angrie, but yet with this condition that we sinne not: For, often times the Lorde is more wrath with the ire of the magistrate, or gouernour, then with the offence which the subiect commits. I finde it very harde that this god prophet should giue vs licence to be angrie, and yet to bind vs that in it we shuld not sinne, specially seing that of the mortall sinnes condemned by the church, the transgression of ire is one: yea, it seemes more straunge that it should be in the hande and libertie of man to be angrie, and yet sinne not, since by our nature euen our thoughtes inclining to anger, cannot be without sinne. Whereby I holde it rather a vertue of angels, then a power humane, when a man that is iniuried is able to limite his passion, and gouerne the affections of his heart, seing that to the nature of man, nothing is more sweete then the passion of reuenge: yea, oftentimes we are vnmindfull to requite a good turne, but seldome doe we forget to reuenge an iniurie receiued. But it is needefull we deduce in particular, those thinges wherein (in good conscience) men may be angrie, and that without scrupul of sinne: for that by how muche more they were friends & enterteined amitie together, by so much more the offence, the anger, and the sinne, (which seemes but a dreame) woulde put amongst them diuorce and diuision. We may not be angry against such as maliciously touch our honor, or by ambition aspire to our goods: for that to the noble minde it belonges to demaund his recouerie by iustice & his honor by the sword. May we hold anger against such as haue done some notable iniurie, & published dishonest speech of vs? I say no, for that according to the rule of the Gospell we are bound to pardon al wrongs, & leaue ỹ reuenge to god to whō it

Psal. 4.

Nothing is more sweete then pasion of reuenge.

it belonges, Men ought not to be angrie, if in their houses their wiues be Libertines and dissolute, for that so delicate is the honour of the Husbande and the Wife, that her chastitie can not be detected, without that he haue interest in the dishonor: and therfore in things that can suffer remedie, we ought eyther to qualifie the rigor of the punishment, or dissemble the iniurie: much lesse ought we to be angrie against our seruaunts, when they doe not the duetie of their place, or murmur when they are commaunded: For, being but mercenaris to vs, we ought to admonish them, and if they will not be brought to amendment, to giue them leaue to depart. We ought not to be angrie with our friends and familiars, if in their prosperitie they misknow vs, and in our great aduersities will not succour vs: for, according to their behauiour, we haue to giue this iudgement of them, that as if they had bene true frendes, they would not haue fayled vs, so according to their corrupt affection, their pride carrieth them into disdayne of our pouertie. In cases of breach of promise, it euill beseemeth a wiseman to be angrie, for that this reputation belonges to patience, that he ought rather to lose that he hoped for, then to breake the patience for the whiche he hath bene so long prayed. And howe canne we be angrie against our selues when we erre in that we saye, and vse falshode in that we doe? Seing that the remedie of our abuses consistes not to be angrie and vexe our selues, but in the amendment and reformation of our actions. Why shuld we be angrie when we see Fortune rayseth others, and forgetteth vs? Seing that if Fortune distributed to euerie one according to the rate of their will and merite, she coulde not be called Fortune, but Iustice: but because she will iustifie the limites and charters of her authoritie, she vseth to aduaunce those that she fauoureth, and spareth to preferre such as deserue to be eralted. Sure, we haue no reason to be angrie against the subtilties of the diuell and the worlde: For that in wel aduised iudgement and consideration, much lesse that they deceiue vs, seing of the contrarie they admonishe and aduise vs. And according to the testimonie of the Scripture

traueleth vs in temptations, and to the worlde is ioyned a propertie to deceiue vs. And let vs not be wrath, if we haue not suche power and abilitie as others, since, if we make aright our owne computation and reckoning, we ought to be more sorie that we haue not deserued honour, then that we haue it not. And since the lawe of nature and fortune make all thinges subiect to revolution and chaunge, and that of our selues we are the proper instruments of our owne harmes, and ought not to be angrie or vered, but against suche as rise to offende God and sturre vs to committe sinne. For, a good Christian ought to be more sorie for him that hath a wound in his soul, then for any that suffer losse of their goods, though there be neuer so great nearenelle and respect of kinred and friendshippe: so that the thing that ought moste to trouble a good Christian, and breede compassion in the man of holinelle and vertue, is to see that man beare suche appetite to the sweetenelle of sinne, and with such boldnelle followe their libertie to doe euill, that many and many are those nowe a dayes, who had rather breake the commaundementes of the holy lawe, then to infringe the least statute of the prince. This is a thing to be marueiled at, that when the merchaunt is taken with a counterfait measure, or the goldesmith with a falle weight, the measure shall be burnt, the balance broken, and the offender rendred to publique iustice: but if a man be knowne to renounce God, or to beare the guilt of periurie, murder, or adulterie, muche lelle that he shall be chastised, but of the moste he shall be fauoured, supported, and iustified: yea, to his impunitie shall be added libertie to offende further, to the daungerous example of a whole Commonaltie. That men sinne, it is no wonder, but that they be suffered to heape sinne vppon sinne, brings slaunder to the whole race and generation of mankinde: For, to be so impudent as to blaspheme openly, and to be an adulterer in publique, is as though there were no Gospell to forbyd it, nor God to punishe it. It is sure moste horrible for a man to swell and ware fatte in sinne, whole sweetenelle drawing him on after the delightes of

Office of the diuell, the world, and the flesh.

this world, makes him so sucke and licke vp the syrup of euery vice, that if he leaue off with any of Gods commandements vnbroken, it is not for want of will, but because he may no more. And albeit, it be lawfull for no man to sinne, yet how many do we see so resolued and obstinate in wickednesse, that by continual frequentation of euil, they dout whether they be euil men or not? There is nothing more daungerous to a christian, then to accustome him selfe to harden his conscience, for that in such wretches there is no will to be amended, nor meane to be remedied. An other sort of sinners there is, who not content to haue sinned, vaunt of their wickednesse, and challenge a reputation for doing euil: those be the people against whom God is wroth, and whose offences he is most slow to pardon: and by so much more do we offend the maiestie of God, by how much we are diligent and bold to sinne, and slow to repent, and obstinate in perseuerance, but most of all when we publishe our vilencie with impudencie and boldnesse. Esaie did not so much complaine of the people of Israel, for that they had offended God, and forgot him: but for that they published their abhominations, following therin the Sodomites and cursed creatures of Gomorrha, to whō it was no more shame to sinne then to eate. Then, against such kinde of sinnes and sinners, with good reason we may be angrie, since of all other actions and accidents passing in the worlde we may maruell and wonder, but not rise into anger and wrath. Moses was euill intreated of the king, followed of the Iewes, murmured at by Dathan and Abiram, and enuied of his sister, and yet for all those troublesome perplexities, he was neuer so vered and angrie, as when he saw his people sighe for the absence of Aegypt, worship the calfe, and murmur against God. It is written of the great Mathatia father of the renouned Machabeis, that notwithstanding he was denuded of the state of sacrificator, and banished the presence of his house whilest his gods were abandoned to spoyle, yea, outrage violently conspired against his person: yet muche lesse that he toke vengeance, seing he was not once set on kindle in anger, till he saw a wicked Iewe, in the manner

Vaunters of sinne.

ner of the Gentiles idolaters, offer a sacrifice, for whiche dishonour done against GOD, he did iustice on the offender. So extreme also were the persecutions which the Prophet Helias suffered of Iezabel and of the idolaters of Hierusalem, that oftentimes he prayed to God to be dissolued, to the end his afflictions might take end. And albeit the authoritie and wickednesse of his aduersaries, accompanied his harte with continuall troubles and berations, yet he neuer prosecuted the reuenge of any, but suche as bowed downe to the idol of Baal, of whom, with their disguised God, he slue three hundreth. My eyes (sayth Dauid) are alwayes as fountaines of huely teares, not so much for the wrongs and offences which others do to me, as for compassion of the dishonour done against my God: wherein as his affection was holie, feeling more bitterly the outrages conspired against God, then the displeasures committed against him selfe: so, by his example, I say, we can not do a thing in the worlde more iust, then to take as our owne, the iniuries done against the innocencie of Christ; seeing he hath taken vpon him the account and reckoning of all our offences, and made our transgressions as his owne. Following then the example of so many holy & excellent personages, we may accomplish this commaundement, To be angrie and sinne not, which we do then best performe, when we rebuke the sinne, and beare pittie to the sinners, and help to succour and saue their soules, and giue no meane to the losse and infamie of their honour: the whiche now a dayes hapneth in the contrarie, for that in few men is found a disposition to rebuke sinne, but al sorts are displeased with the sinner, committing their zeale into ire, and ire into vengeance, and so by little and little, vnder colour to chastice, most men execute reuenge. The sinne of anger, besides that of it selfe it is hatefull, is also in the same daungerous, seeing that with no man the neighbourhode of an angrie man is welcome, nor his friendship tollerable. The angrie and furious man hath these descriptions: His eyes rolling, his face inflamed, his body trembling, his toung troubled, his harte burning, and his handes readie to strike, and so long as he is Psal. 118. Description of a furious man

gouerned with rages, much lesse that he is fitte to execute any publique busines, seing he neither knoweth what he saith, nor comprehendeth what he ought to doe: and the more he is rayled to place and dignitie, the more hurtfull he is. For that whiche in a priuate man is no more then naturall anger, in a magistrate, authoritie makes it rage and furie: and therefore in the administration of a Common weale, there is nothing more vnworthie, then to a heart naturally fierce and cruell, to adde power and authoritie. To the impatient and furious man, moste commonly, things doe not best succéede, for that béeing in passion, he hath not the rule of his owne iudgement, and muche lesse is able to dispose of his fortune, he seldome findes friendes to follow him, and hath fewe seruauntes to serue him: For, it goeth for the most part with the furious man to haue euill will of many, & stabilitie of fellowship with none: and as he is troublesome to many, so euerie man hath matter to speake against him, whereby, by the iuste occasion of his owne merite, he liues alwayes in contention, in perplexities, in suspicion, in murmur, and for the moste parte doth contest and accurse against himselfe. Suche men moue their owne scorne, for that in their passions they are laughed at, their friendships suspected, and in their dealinges they are feared: that more easie is it to endure a temptation, then the neyghbourhode of a furious man. With such men, we must not communicate in thinges discréete, nor trust them in secrete businesse: for that to giue counsell they are too rashe, and to vse secrecie their mouth is too open. It is daungerous then to committe to a man possessed with a spirite of anger, any charge of gouernement in the Common weale: for that, in affaires of policie, as there be thinges that deserue to be chastised, and matters that ought to be dissembled: so, it can not but happen to the furious man, that in place to appease and couer iniuries, he will of himselfe thunder reproches against the partie. But nowe, after the daungers and damages that come by anger, it apperteynes to reason and congruencie, to exhibite a fewe remedies to cure or qualifie those moues.

That whiche in a priuate man is but natural anger, in a magistrate may be called rage & furie.

In

In all our our affaires and actions, it is good to foresee before what may happen to vs, and what may be sayde of vs: for, so that we be armed, that albeit men giue vs cause to be angrie, yet they shall haue no power to make our passion furious: and therefore the same neede that the poore man hath of riches, and the sole of wisedome, the same necessitie hath the heart of patience: for, being subiect to many afflictions, and the troubles no lesse that assaile him together with the daungers that depende on them without comparison, many mo be the thinges which he ought to suffer in patience, then that are lawefull for him to reuenge with his tongue. And if of euery wrong that is done to vs, and of euerie aduersitie that is naturall to our condition, we shoulde receiue speciall acompt & reckoning, our handes would neuer cease to reueng, our tongue werie with complainning, and our heart wasted and broken with sighing. For, what man being a member of this miserable lyfe, to whome is not one equall desire that his dayes and troubles might dissolue together. Men being so ouergrowne with vices, and so deuoured with affayres and businesses, it is marueil that since they are so slowe to cutte off their cares and troubles, that the waues of their proper aduersities doe not rise and swallowe them vp. And if the physicians ordeined to cure infirmities of the bodie, woulde binde themselues to heare the sorrowes of the heart, they shoulde in particular haue more patients muttering afore their gates, then in times past were inhabitantes in Rome, when it was best replenished. For, so naturall is the sickenesse of trouble and veration, that though many eschue yet few haue power to liue long exempt from it. What is he, either past, present, or to come, who, in his bodie hath not felt some payne, and in his heart some passion, hath not suffered some losse or spoile of his goodes, or infamie to his person, or at least who can walke so vprightly, to whome is not done some iniurie, or some scorne or reproache spoken? But he that is vexed with all these aduersities, and will make head againste them and remedie them, lette hym be assured, that euen then shall he laye the plotte of the ende, and

dispatch of his life, when he begins to put ouer to these incurable harmes. For, as there is no sea without wauing, no warre without daunger, nor iourney without trauell: euen so that there is no worldly life voyde of troubles, nor any estate without stumbling blockes, it is most apparant in this, that there liues no man so happie which hath not wherein to be grieued, and whereupon to complayne. For howe many do we see whome pryde makes fall, enuie consumes, anger torments, pouertie wasteth, & ambition endeth their dayes? So that for the most part such is the miscontentment of our myndes, that our aduersities trauelling our spirites in martyrdome, driue vs to wishe rather an honest death, then to languish in so troublesome a life.

Good aduise. And so, if we will accomplishe this commaundement, To be angrie and sinne not, let vs (in accidents which the worlde, fortune, and nature, bring vpon vs,) dissemble some, suffer some, conceale some, and remedie the rest, and in all things let vs followe reason, and not opinion.

For such as enter into Religion.

Touching a chapter prouinciall. Such as be religious, or aspire to the office and ministerie of the Churche, ought to haue alwayes afore their eyes the wordes which God spake to Abraham, saying: Depart out of thy countrie, and from amongest thy friendes, and go into the land which I shall shewe thee, and abide where I commaund thee. For, vnder these wordes that they finde comprehended all that God doth for them, and likewise that which they are bound to do for the seruice of God. Abraham, being in the house of Tara his father, and Aran and Achor his brethren Chaldeis and idolaters, God appared vnto him, and bad him leaue his countrie and parentes, and goe where he would guide him, and rest where he would commaund him, and in recompence of this obedience (saythe God) I wil make thee Lord ouer great numbers of people, and

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will so giue thee my blessing, as thou shalt for euer remaine blessed.

Out of these words may be gathered foure things, which God commaunded Abraham, and other foure thinges which God promised him: so that as a Lorde, he teacheth him in what he ought to serue him, and withall telles him what reward he will giue him for his seruice. Afore God called Abraham, it was not found that there was any vertue in him, & muche lesse that he had done any seruice to God: onely the Scriptures make mention that he was of the generation of Saruth, and sonne of Tara, and had to his brother Aran, which all were Gentiles and idolaters. Thre sorts of people called to religion.

Cassianus sayth, that of three sortes be called those that come to the perfection of religion: one sorte God calles by holy inspirations: an other sorte is chosen of men by good counsel: the thirde sort is constreyned to enter into religion by some necessitie or misaduenture happened to them: so that albeit the perfection of religion be alwayes one, yet the meanes to come therevnto are many. The first function or estate, is called diuine, and consistes (as is sayde) in this, when the great goodnesse of God so toucheth the heart of a man, that he leaueth that which he doth, & doth that which he ought, estraunging his minde from worldly things, and rayling it to diuine and heauenly contemplations. The second is called humane or worldly, as when any wicked liuer is turned to God by the counsel of some good mã, as Hippolito was conuerted to the fayth by the instructions of S. Laurence. The thirde vocation may be called constreyned, or by necessitie: as when a man of dissolute conuersation, and falling into aduersitie, is conuerted to God. And as these be the three maners of calling, and meanes to enter into religion, so, if they be wel considered, I see not how the first (oftentimes) either doth much profite, nor the last much hinder, for more or lesse to serue God in religion. For, there haue ben many of those which God hath called to religion, condemned: and many others which came to serue him by force, haue ben saued. Christ called and chosed to the colledge of his disciples, the cursed Iudas: and the apostle S. Paule, being reuersed

and saine from his horse, necessitie compelled him to knowe Jesus Christe: so that Iudas, being exalted, fell, and S. Paule being saine, was exalted. This I bring in this place to the end that none esteeme muche, or make greate accompt, either to be called to the religion by the will of God, or to come to it by any necessitie or misaduenture: For the seruaunt of God which trauelleth towardes his saluation in a religious life, ought not to remember so muche howe God called him, as to consider wherefore God called him. There be many religious men in monasteries and elsewhere, who attribute much to themselues, for ỳ they entred religion in infancie: others chalenge more for ỳ they toke the habite in the heat of their youth: some there are that ascribe to their aduauntage, for that they professe an order verie strait and reformed: and others for being the followers and disciples of men of holie life: and many there be, with whome it is no small reputation to haue continued in religion thirtie, fortie, or fiftie yeares, and they in respect of their prescription, holde all others but Nouices: yea, most of them sticke not to referre all their perfection to the long time they haue dwelt in monasteries, hauing no regarde to the little they haue profited in them. But, to enter religion in infancie, in youth, or in olde age, to the man of God ought to minister no occasion of aduantage or estimation ouer others: but rather let him (as a good seruaud) make a good accompt for his time, and trauell more in the studie and seruice of God, then to keepe reckoning of the yeares of his continuaunce. For what estimation can prescription bring to any man, when he can shew no fruite of his time? seeing that much more doth the religious man deserue for his knowledge and humilitie, then for his olde age or continuance. Iudas remained three yeares in the Apostleship of Christ: and three houres, and no more, did the good theefe hang by our sauiour on the crosse, and yet by fayth we are assured that more did profite ỳ theefe those three hours in torments, then the three years did good vnto Iudas being a follower of Christ. In ỳ parable of the vineyard in the gospel was no more hire giuen to him that wrought from morning

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till night, then to those that entred the vineyarde at the last houre: whereby we are instructed, that our merite or not merit stands not in the seruices which we doe to God, nor in the little or greate charitie which we expresse, but chiefly as it please his goodnes to accept or reiect vs. Al the apostles were called by Christe before his death, sauing S. Paul, and yet who doubtes though he was the last in vocation, but that he was euen the first and chiefest in perfection? (because he laboured more then all the rest:) so that, albeit to enter religion in infancie, in youth, or to remaine there long time, can not be but commendable, yet vnder this condition, that it be not to this end to haue a greater portion in the profites, but to be more humble in their profession. Beware therefore you that be auncientes in houses of religion, that you fall not into the deceits and circumuentions of the diuell, who, in recompence of the great number of yeares that you haue dwelt in religiõ, & the many temptatiõs that you haue endured there, will perhappes go about to pay you with the best chamber in the Dorter, and make you proude with the first voyce in ỹ Chapter: whiche you muste eschue, for that, howe muche lesse comfort and cherishing you haue in the estate of religion, so much more is your perfection and reuerence. In like sort, in the good religious man ought to appeare no vain glory, for ỹ he professeth the habit of a strait order, or a vocation of liberty, or whither he be obseruant or cloisterer: for, the perfectiõ of the Gospel consistes not in the monasterie wherin we enter, but in the good and holie life we leade. The children of Israel worshipped one onely God in Aegypt, and being come into the lande of promise, they reuolted and misseknewe him: so that in what place so euer we are, let our vertues giue dignitie to the house, and not the place seduce or alter our deuotion. Albeit Ioseph dwelt among the Aegyptians, Abraham amongst ỹ Chaldeis, Tobias amongst the Assyrians, and Daniel was cruelly handled amongest them of Babylon: yet were they alwayes holie and happie: and by them we are taught that to the perfect man, the whole world is his monasterie, as of the contrarie, the prophane and wicked man, of his mona-

nasterie makes a world. The same appearing in many wanderers, delighting in chaunge, and to raunge from one house to an other vnder colour of perfection (which more properly may be called temptation) they are not without their excuses, and haue ready tongues to blame their gouernours, for that their monasteries are not reformed, complayning perhaps more by opinion, then that there lackes perfection. For, there is no place in the world so prophane, where a man may not labour to be good if he will, or which to the man of God, helpes not to the seruice of his perfection. Let not the seruant of God also be glorious, for that in his order he was esteemed of holy life. For great is his shame to be taught by a good master, and forget to follow his vertues, and farr greater is his abuse if he be renoumed for holinesse, and be found an hypocrite. Dathan and Abiram had Moses to their maister, Achab had Helias, Ananias had S. Peter, and Iudas had Iesus Christ: who albeit they heard their words and preachinges, yet did they little profite by their doctrines. And as in workes made by mans hand, we haue a custome first to praise the worke, and then the workeman that made it: so, touching a life religious, it is to small purpose for a disciple to beare praise by his maister. The good religious man ought not to vaunt, if the Lord call him more to one religion then to an other: for, after that a man be baptised, there is no estate in all ỹ church of God wherein the good man may not be saued, and the wicked condemned: and therefore, to take rather the habite of S. Benet, then of the Augustines, to professe more the Dominicanes then the Franciscanes, and to followe the Charterers rather then ỹ Trinitaries or Mercenaries, or to be affected more singularly to one order then to another, I hold it of small difference, since that albeit they are all habits auncientlỹ instituted by holy personages, yet in trueth they are but traditional and subiect to alteration and change, where Christs religion is of it selfe pure, firme, and simple, and hath no affinitie with outward obseruations and Ceremonies: so that as God doth more consider the hart of him that serues him, then the habite which he beareth: so, I thincke that any man that

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is a good Christian and delights in the true sweetenes of the Gospel, may enter into what religion he wil, and haue libertie to beare such habite as best setts forth his grauitie. For, for men to chose the habite of one religion more then of another, ought to be referred more to deuotion then perfection. And albeit I cannot denie, but that there be religions some more correct and better reformed then others, and wherein the professors haue more occasion to be good, and lesse libertie to be euil: yet, I dwel resolutely in this, that the good or the euil of a monasterie lieth not in the habite, but in the men that beare it. And where we see many religious men suffer sundrie passions and difficulties, which of them professeth ỳ most worthie and perfect religion, it is sure lamentable to see the inconuenience and euil examples which rise by such controuersies, where amongst the seruaunts of God there ought to be more dispute for the trueth of religion, then to examine who followeth best his profession.

¶ An other discourse tending to religion in a Chapter generall.

Wee must acknowledge Christ for our faith, for our redemption & for our doctrine.

CHrist, speaking of such as being not content to be Christians, wil be perfect Christians, saith: Who will not renounce all that he possesseth cannot be my disciple: And therefore afore all things it behoueth vs to haue Jesus Christ for God touching faith, and for redeemer in that which concernes the health of our soules, and for doctrine to followe him as maister. For, if he teach vs not that wee haue to doe, and leade vs not by his way, we shall remaine in ignorance, and wander without a guide, and be readie to stumble vpon error, heresie, and idolatrie. *Vias tuas domine demonstra mihi, & semitas tuas edoce me*: Teach me, Oh Lord (saith Dauid) the wayes that end in thee, and the pathes by the whiche thou draweſt to thy selfe those that be iust. The Lord saieth not, Those that wil renounce, &c. but speaking in ỳ singular number, Psalme 24.

number, He (saith he) that will renounce al that he possesseth shall be my disciple: giuing vs thereby to vnderstande howe small is the number of them that know his wayes, and farre lesse the congregation of such as goe by his pathes: for, of all those multitudes of people which haue receiued baptisme, how many are come to perfection? Then since Iesus Christ hath presented him selfe to be our maister, it is good reason that we estæme our selues to be his disciples, which we doe then accomplish best, not so much when we heare his worde, as when we treade in his steps. *Pone me vt signaculum super cor tuum:* Oh thou (sayth the wise man) that comest to serue me, and to followe me, put me as a white and marke in the most deerest place of thy hart, euen there where the beames of thy thoughts do alwayes strike. The first lesson that is taught vs in the schole of this good maister, is that he ỳ reiecteth not al that he hath, cannot be his disciple: wherin he giues knowledge to all posterities of the profession of religion, that the first and chiefest marke of a disciple of the law of the Gospel, is to beare as great compassion euen to the poorest, as they did to those that were most rich whilst they were of ỳ world: for so shal they followe naked, him that was naked, in pouertie, communicate with him that was poore and in afflictions, followe him that was crucified, euen Iesus Christ, to whose disciples it is a chiefe duetie, rather to doe then to speake. Where Christ commands you to leaue the golde and siluer that you haue of the worlde, it is not for that riches of them selues are euil, but bicause they are hurtful impediments in the seruice of God, much hindering the action of our duetie in holy profession by meane of the toyles we haue to get them, ỳ cares and danger to kæpe them, and the griefes they giue vs to depart from them. This is one propertie annexed to the goods of this world, that who takes the greatest paines to gather them, hath oftentimes the least vse and pleasure of them: for when they descend by succession, we estæme them litle, & if we atteine them with our policie, they cost vs deare, and when we giue ouer to get more, it is then that the afflictions of olde age giue vs no time to take the pleasure of those that

Cant. 8.

It is a duetie in disciples of Christe rather to do then to speake.

Troublesome properties annexed to riches.

we haue. Temporall riches bring with them pride and wearning to him that hath them, couetousnesse to get more, penurie to keepe them, and sinne to inioy them; so that who holds him selfe most happie to haue them, it is euen he that hath his body most charged with vices, and his hart loden with cares: yea, if those that be most rich were examined of the extreme toyles and labours they haue endured by lande, the dannagers they haue passed by sea, the losses they haue suffered by bankrupts, the bribes and charges they haue imployed, with other infinite perplexities that followe the traffique of getting: I beleeue they had rather with the easie begger, haue gone from doore to doore, thē with the thoughtfull merchant, haue traded from fayre to fayre. To riches and richmen is ioined also this passion, that as they vse great industrie to get them, so haue they no power to keepe them: for, if their welth consist in milles, the water carrieth them away, or else they depend of the fauour of the winde: if their treasures be in silkes and cloth, they are subiect to mothes: if their garners be full of corne, hermine will not forbeare to deuour it: and if it be in gold or siluer, it is a sweete pray to intice the theefe, whome oftentimes God suffereth to be suche a scourge to the rich man, that what he hath heaped together with the sweate of all his life, the theefe takes from him in one houre. This is also one affliction incident to rich men, that whilest they get, they are priuate and alone: but when they come to vse and inioy their riches, they are oftentimes too much accompanied: For, what with parentage and kinred, recompence of seruants, and opportunities of other friendes, the riche man, when he comes to diuide his goodes, or make his testament, shall haue more trouble to please all, then himselfe take pleasure to possesse and get all. And albeit he be liberall of his goods, and reasonable in the distribution of them, yet shal he hardly escape without the murmur of his kinred, or grudging of his seruaunts, and curses of his neighbours, and that not so much for any wrong he hath done them, as for that he will giue them no portion in his wealth: so that if by nature and charitie we haue compassion on the poore that wanteth,

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we ought by reason to haue pitie on ỹ rich that hath aboun-
dance: for that he is alwayes enuironed with friendes that
neuer forbeare to craue, and enimies that seldome cease to
accuse: therefore I see not, but if there be great trauel to get
wealth there is no lesse trouble to distribute it: for that as it
is gotten in sweat and labour, so we see it is diuided and left
in sorrow and teares. The rich man must entertein many
seruauntes for the traine of his person, and furnish his house
with costly aray: to him belonges great expence in hospita-
litie and charge of dishes, and in nothing must he faile that
may furnish the countenance and reputation of his riches,
lest his honour be blemished: so that by the miserable quali-
tie of this world, mẽ do rather accomplish with opinion then
with reason. With this toyle is also accompanied for ỹ moste
part this further trouble to richmen, that whẽ their fortune
or folly hath raised them to an estate of abilitie and power,
they had rather die then abate their pompe: and albeit they
be sunck in substance, yet must they kepe vp saile, and as the
saying is, wash their face with faire water, and dyse it ouer
with a dishclout: so that how much so euer a worldly man
hath of worldly wealth in this world, yet hath he not so much
but that he hath want of something, seeing that if he haue to
supply his lacke, hee wanteth to accomplishe the desires
of his prodigall youth, with whome neede is not satisfied
with hauing plentie of thinges, for that hauing abundance,
he liues still in desire to haue more. And such mẽ, as they trau-
uel more for that that is superfluous, then for that that is ne-
cessarie: so if they would controll that which they haue, & be
discrete in that which they spend, they should finde that the
trauel they endure is not to satisfie the necessities they feele,
but to accomplish ỹ vanities wherin they liue. Rich men, the
more they begin to finde out the secret and subtiltie of traf-
fique, the more doe they fall into the bottomlesse troubles
thereof, as, to buy, to sell, to exchange, to retaile on credite,
yea, to beguile, rob, deceiue, and which worse is, when they
protest most to giue it ouer, it is then they are most drowned
in it: so that the more they haue, the more they seeke to get: the

more they buy, the more baugaines they make: yea, the more they desire, the more they rob: and yet (such is their wretchednes) that that which they haue, seemes but little to them, and the litle that others haue they esteeme a great deale: yea, being never satisfied, they hold that they haue but little, in comparison of that they desire to haue. Finally, temporall riches bring with them this error, that as afore we gett them, we haue an insatiable appetite to them: so, being possest of them we grow to loath them, as in all other thinges fulnesse alitereth the taste: so that in getting them, we passe through infinit passions and difficulties, and hauing them we receiue with them perplexities and cares, reaping of our sweat and labours, a croppe of care, sorrow, and anguish. By all these, we may proue it a false testimonie of him that calleth riches goods, seeing they haue no propertie nor nature of good, but worke the effect of much euill: for, if there be any euill in the world at this day, rich men do breede it, and the poore sort endure it: and therefore riches can not be called good, for that greater is the number, without comparison, of such as being good, become euil by riches, then of such as being wicked, are by riches holpen to be good. For, riches are rather the ministers of vices, then of vertues, and readie instrumentes to do hurt, euen against those that get them with paine and trauel, and keepe them with care and cost. If they be in the keeping & power of an old man, his age will not suffer him long to enioy them, and if they be the portion of one that is young, they will neuer giue him rest till he haue spent them: so ỳ I may well maintaine that they be not goods, but euils, and not simple euils, but most great and hurtfull euils, seeing they put our bodies in daunger, trouble our spirites, bring griefes to our heartes, and oftentimes takes away our liues, & put our soules in hazard. That if riches were good, as the world saith, and not euil, as all men see, there would not be arreared so cruell warres betweene princes, so many reuolts and troubles amongst estates & countries, so many quarels amongest neighbours, nor so many suites and processes betweene brethren: amongest all which is seldome seene, one man to con-

Rich men breede most euils in the world.

Riches the ministers of vices.

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rent with an other for the correction and amendment of his life, but rather for the vsurpation of their goods and possessions: wherein I see no reason to call that good which is the occasion of so many euils, since that no other things are the riches of the worlde, but a desire of vaine men, a stumbling blocke for the wicked, a limebush for the good, and a perpetuall perplexitie for all sortes.

Let this suffice to warne chiefly suche as are entred into religion, afore whose eyes ought alwayes to stand, as a burning lamp, that heauenly exchaunge whiche they made with the world, the same day that they left the worlde and entered religion, wherein they chaunged pryde for humilitie, ire for patience, and cruelltie for charitie. He that, being in religion, thinks he hath left in the world much gold, siluer, possessions, and temporall goods, knowes not what he hath left, nor what he hath taken: for, in leauing the world, he hath left but misaduenture and aduersitie, & in entering religion he hath chosen a life of suretie: for that to the good and vertuous religious man, it is more hard to passe one day in the worlde, then to suffer a whole yeare in a monasterie. Wherefore he that will be pure, patient, abstinent, and continent, may with suretie be a member in all monasteries, but if he delight in Epicuritie, dissolutenesse, and impatiencie, let him knowe that a religion well gouerned, is to hungrie for a glutton, to seuere for him that is dissolute, and verie iudiciall against all transgressours. For ende, let all men take heede howe they followe the world, since it leades them out of the way: let no man serue the world, for that it is vnthankfull: who trustes the world, shall finde it a traytour, and who delightes in the world shall be deceiued: for that it hath allurements to intice men, and charmes to call them into a sleepe, which neuer takes end till they dye. Such as knowe not the world, desire it, and receiue therein their destruction, euen as in sweete drinke brued subtily, with which poyson men sucke vp the fatall syrup of their death and destinie. But the religious men, inclosed within the circuit of their cloysters, ought to close their eyes from the sight of vanities, and let their eares

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bloud not to be ravished with the noise and charme of riches.

Instructions still tending to men entered religion.

SO good hath God bene alwayes to those whome he loueth, that from the beginning of the worlde, he hath vsed to diuide and separate them from the worlde, and from the societie of worldly things: as he did by Abraham when he drew him out of Chaldea, called Iacob from Syria, and chosed Moses out of the palace of Pharao: by which we are instructed, that with God it is none other thing to leade a man into religion, then to take from him occasions to sinne, and giue him grace to serue him. When the sonne of God would reueale any secret mysterie to any of his deare disciples, he vsed to lead them into solitarie places, separate from the brute of the worlde: thereby to signifie to all posterities, that by how much more God loueth a man, by so much more doth he estraunge and diuide him from the fellowship of the worlde. *Ducam illum in solitudinem & loquar ad cor eius*: The soul that is beloued of me (saith God) by his prophet Osee, and which I haue predestinated, I will drawe out of the troubles of the worlde, and lead him into solitarie places, and priuately reueale vnto his heart my secretes. Right happie is that soule whome the Lorde calleth to the desert of religion, there to serue him with greater deuotion, and follow him with more constancie of heart. God hath spoken to many by signes, and hath communicated with many by writinges and wordes, yea, to some he hath whispered in their eare: but he speakes onely to the hearts of those whome he loueth with his heart. And little serues it that God spake to vs in the eare to heare him, to our eyes to beholde him, and to our tongue to exalt him, if withall he spake not to the hearte to loue him: for, it is impossible that he shoulde loue God with his heart, who hath him not imprinted in his hearte: and then doth God

speake to the heart of a Christian, when he drawes him out of the stormes of this world, and leades him into the solitarines of a monasterie, where he may traine his body in puritie, and his minde in contemplation. For, the tree that stands by the high way, giues more shadowe to the passinger, then fruite to the owner that prunes it. God doth not onely say, I will drawe him from the worlde, and leade him into the desart: but he sayd he would speake to his heart, meaning, that a good heart we do not abandon the things of the worlde. For, more doth it hurt then good, if our Surgion drawe from vs a grosse tooth, and leaue behinde some corrupt roote to infect the gummes: and therfore, who forsakes the world with good heart, and entereth into religion with holie intention, it is he with whose hearte God doth communicate, and ioines him with his heart. God hath promised, that Where so euer two be gathered together in his name, he would be the third: therefore it is good religion to beleeue, that he is in all houses well corrected, and in euerie vertuous congregation compounded vppon religious persons, magnifying and seruing him both day and night: so that, suche as are admitted to a vertuous assemblie, can not haue in this world a more great felicitie. And therefore, not without great mysterie, GOD commaunded Abraham to abandon the house whiche he had builded, and the inheritaunce which he had established: thereby to instruct all professours of religion, that in all temporall thinges are impediments to be good Christians, and hinder the science of perfection in religion. *Declina a malo & fac bonum:* Thou oughtest to flee darkenesse, if thou wilt inioy the light: thou must followe the right way, if thou wilt not erre: auoyde the myre and durt, if thou wilt bee without spot and cleane: yea, thou must first forbeare to be euill, if thou wilt beginne to be good; and so shalt thou, with the counsel of Dauid eschue vice and followe vertue.

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This discourse was vttered in the presence of a noble Ladie at her Churching.

Int lumbi vestri præcincti, & lucernæ ardentes in manibus vestris: Oh thou that commest, or meanest to come to the house of the Lorde (sayth Christ) it behoueth thee to be straightly girt afore the candel and the candelsticke bee giuen thee in thy hande: for amongest the seruaunts of God, if we see any go heauily, sadly, and discomforted, it is a good argument to say that he is negligent, and not well girt. The Scripture beares witnesse, that Elias in the desert, S. Iohn in the wildernesse, S Peter in prison, S Paule in Ephesus and Christ vppon the pinacle, although they were thinly clothed, yet were they well girt: by which is gathered this instruction, that notwithstanding the troubles and persecutions happening to perfect men, they ought not for all that to giue ouer that they haue begonne, nor be colde or negligent in that they haue taken in hand. The gowne that is wel girt keeps the bodie warme, and gathereth lesse winde: euen so the man that professeth a religion to serue God, being girt with puritie and holy intentions, is the better armed against the winde of vanities of this worlde, and no lesse prepared for the heate of deuotion and seruice of God. So that then wee may say a man is well girt, when we se him in the way to be holy and iust. For, so abstinent and continent ought we to be in religion, that both the world may beholde our vertue, and many made better by our example. And therefore where the Lorde sayth, It behoueth vs to haue our gownes girt afore we take the candels in our handes, it is to aduise vs, ỹ in such sort shoulde we leaue bound, troden out, and naked, the vanities and riches of this world, that they haue no power to followe vs, and we lesse desire to goe to seeke them. The lighted candels whiche we shoulde haue in our handes, be the good and holy workes we ought to doe, and as he is one that holdes the candel, and he an other that partakes in the vse and lighte

of it: so the good worke of the holie man is not onely profitable to him selfe alone, but it also serueth to edifie an other that seeth him do it. With all, like as he is not exempt from sinne, who to another giues occasion to sinne: in like sorte that man can not be without merite, whose vertue is the cause that an other doth any good action: the same agreeing with the interpretation of this text of the prophet, *Particeps sum omnium timentium te:* When we are the cause that other men serue God, we do communicate and partake (saith he) with the merite of such good thinges as they doe in his seruice. It sufficeth not (saith Iesus Christe) to holde one onely candel in our handes, but it is requisite to the office and pietie of christians to haue many: for, as the true christian, and man of perfect deuotion to God, receiues of the plentifull hande of the Lorde, many graces and benefites: so it is necessarie that he doe him many seruices, and keepe his spirite in continuall exercise of thankesgiuing. For, as this is common in the office and friendshippe of men, that by howe muche lesse we are raysed to benefites aboue our merite, so muche more are we bound to owe all those due respectes of recompence and ciuilitie, as may hold vs acquited, and leaue our friende satisfied. Euen so with God, this is an infallible propertie in his iustice, to minister rewardes to good men aboue the rate of their merites, and prepare punishment to the wicked vnder their deseruinges. And where Christ commaunds (not without great mysterie) that we should hold in our handes our candels lighted, and neither vse the seruice of the candelstick, nor appoint others to hold them for vs: it is to aduertise vs, that if God ought to saue vs, it ought to be through his greate mercie onely, and not by any meane of our proper merites, although in our actions we ought alwayes to expresse a holy industrie and diligence. In like sort, it is not enough (in the profession of religion) that we be girt, that we haue candels, that we hold them in our handes, or that we haue many candels: but it belongs to our Christianitie to haue them burning with light, and not as dead and stinking snuffes. Whereby we are warned, that better were it, not to

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enter into religion at all, if in the same we correct not the abuses of our liues, and gather profite by the fruit and doctrine of the gospel. By the example of that great prophet S. John baptist, being himselfe (as the scripture saith) the candel that burned and gaue light, are bound al sincere and vertuous religious men, to take heede that they want no ware of good life to burne, and be lesse replenished with vices to giue impedimentes to their lightes: so that no other thing is the religious man vndeuoute, then a candel dead. And it can not, by any similitude resemble a candel light, but rather a snuffe troaden out and quenched, where the man of the church hath no other good thing in him then his habite, by the which he ought neuer the more to exalt or glorifie himselfe, since, afore the maiestie of God, it is no other thing to be reputed a holy man holding nothing of vertue but his habite, then a candel, whose light being quenched his qualitie lieth dead. The virgins that had not their lamps lighted (according to the iudgement of the Gospel) deserued not to enter with the bridegrome: euen so the man by whome is not performed the dutie of a good Christian, and much lesse hath fulfilled the office of a churchman, may stande assured, that when he dieth, he shall not be founde amongst those that are inuited, but past ouer to the fellowshippe of such as are deceiued. But greate is the grace whiche God sheweth to that man, whome he withdrawes from the world, and reduceth into holy religion, for that there is more suretie to stande, and not so much subiection to fall, and if he suffer him to stumble, he hath appointed him helpes to hold him vp, and many readie meanes to repentance: since that in the Church he hath more opportunitie to serue God, and lesse occasion to commit sinne. And albeit, being compounded vpon humors and complexions of corruption, we cannot but erre in things corrupt and worldly: yet, such is the care and protection of God ouer those whom he loueth, and hath called and chosen to ẏ seruice and office of the churche, that if sometimes he suffer them to fall the better to make them know him, it is not without the readie assistance of his hand to healpe them eftsoones to ryse

againe: yea, he seldome suffereth them to slide into suche faultes, as may giue him occasion to be angrie with them.

Therefore who vnder the habite of religion, riseth into a mynde of pryde, ambition, epicuritie or malice, is amongest the children of God, the same that sathan is to all Christians, Dathan amongst the Israelites, Saule amongest the prophets, and Iudas amongest the Apostles. Wherein let all men be warned that haue will to enter into religion, that afore they seeke it, they may knowe whether they followe it, since for no other cause ought they to come to the communion of religion, but to amende and reforme their liues. For, albeit the sinceritie of religion receiue greate sinners: yet it is with no tolleration to commit heinous crimes after they be inuested. What other thing is ment by that discipline of the scripture, wherein the lande of promise for trauelling in small labours on the holidayes, they were commaunded to be stoned: but that to the man of the Church sinning lightly in religion, was merite of great seueritie and punishment, for that a small sinne committed in the worlde, beares an estimation of grieuous crime in the Church. Take heede (sayth Saint Paule) that you receiue not the grace of our Lorde in vayne. And what other thing doth he but receiue it in vaine, who makes no reckoning of his election, and cares not to be called to the Church, and diuided from the worlde. For, as by baptisme we are sanctified, euen so by the profession of the ministerie we are regenerate.

Let euerie one then take heede what it is that he takes in hande, afore he beginne to manage so holie a function, whether they be professours by will or by necessitie. For, all religions being of the institutions of holy personages, as it can not be tollerable that in their ministers be any imperfections or want of perfect deuotion and vertue: so, who in the habite of religion, will liue prophanely, or followe the liberties of the worlde, in that man is no apparance of reformation, and lesse argument of fayth or vertue. And therefore in the Churche for some particular men to be more exempt and priuileged then others, or to aspire aboue the congre-

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gation and communitie of the Churche in any priuate or familiar prerogatiue: although it may be suffered for a time, yet religion can not holde it tollerable long. For, no more then the sea can beare bodies that be dead, no more hath the Churche a nature to breake in her ministers myndes of ambition and pryde: for which cause it is called order, as wherin are conteyned all things well ordered, which without this order can not but beare to confusion. Who hath once taken the habite of religion, and will still continue intangled with the customes of the world, and exercise his mynd in vanities, can not but breake the statutes of religion, and stand in peril of infidelitie, since the doctrine of the Gospel, and the libertie of the world could neuer hold societie or fellowship together,

A discourse in the presence of a great assemblie of Noble Ladies, of the good and euil that the toung doth.

Mors & vita in manibus linguæ.

Death and life are in the hands of the toung.

If to men of the worlde, were power of election to demaunde the thinges they desire most, afore all other temporall felicities, they would require to line long. And if (on the other side) they had libertie to confesse what thing in the worlde they abhorred most, who doubtes not but all men loth nothing more then to dye? Wherunto there is to be made this readie reason, that as liuing, they inioye that they haue, and dying, they leaue to be that they are: so, with life all thinges are remedied, and by death there is nothing which hath not end: yea the souereigne delight of mortall folkes is the solace of their life, and the greatest terrour they suffer is the opinion and conceit of death,

The souereine dutie of mortall folkes is the solace of their life,

Beastes exercise generation, fruits returne séedes to their planter, corne yealds his graine of increase, and birdes leaue egges in their nestes: and all for no other reason, then that knowing they can not alwayes liue, they leaue other to liue in their place: yea, for no other purpose doe men and beastes eate, drinke, sléepe, and execute their other naturall actions, then thereby the more to preserue and pamper life, and with more securitie to prolong and shift off death. And, for that (in generall experience) nature loues her conuersation, and abhorreth all things hurtfull to her increase, we see there is nothing more comfortes the man that is sicke, then when he is tolde that he may eate of what his appetite likes best: euen so there is no worde that doth more amaze or mortifie him, then when he is put in remembrance of his mortalitie, and to prepare his conscience: for, with one worde he hath suertie of life, and with an other he heareth his sentence of death. Whereof was verified a right true experience in the good king Ezechias, to whome in one houre, in one house, and to one person, euen to him selfe, was pronounced by the Prophete Esaie, that he was condemned to death, and that God had eftsones giuen him pardon: so that hauing deserued by the grauitie of his sinnes that God should take his life from him: God afterwardes, through the fulnesse of his mercie, and consideration of his teares and repentaunce, founde occasion to pardon his death. Yea we insensate and rude sorte of any creatures is, yet we see he hath indgement to eschue the fire that burnes him, to auoyde the Labyrynth made to his destruction, and not to clime with desperate perill those high rockes, from whose toppes is present effecte of death: whereunto by what other reason is he induced, then to preserue life which he holdeth dere, & flée death which nature feareth him to feare? The brute beast sleeth death, and yet he is of a condition not to iudge of the worthinesse and solace of life: but to man nothing is more deare then life, and of all other things he holdeth death in most terror: for that liuing, he knoweth what he is: and being dead, he can not tell what shall become of him: (since after death there is no restitution, no more

All things desire to liue & are loth to dye.

more then a tree once hewen downe, can be ettsones replanted.) Friendship & the office of societie, require that we wish to our frends much abilitie, might, & power, but with a greater affection we wish them long life: yea, this standes in common regard w̄ vs all, rather to seeke to prolong our life, then increase our wealth, and not to make a greater care to augment our treasure, then to continue our dayes: which being true, what a wonderfull prouidence of God and nature is this, that the confidence of life and death consistes onely in the tongue, who hath the same office in the administration of the life of man, whiche is incident to the portall or wicket of a great palace, through the which do enter all things that we eat and vse, and by the other do issue al that we think and speake. So that it holds good conformitie with ỹ saying of the wiseman, that Life and death are in the power of the tongue, since lyfe is at the portal of our palate, readie to depart, when death striking on the bānar of our conscience seekes to enter: yea, there is no part of our bodie wherein we stande more subiect to daunger of life and death, then in our mouth and tongue: for that they being the open gates of the tower and trunke of the bodie, life may go out without speaking, and death hath libertie to enter without knocking. *Habemus thesaurum istum in vasis fictilibus*, saith S. Paule: as if he had saide: Oh what paine haue christians to beare in feeble and frayle vessels, such precious treasures, as fayth in the understanding, charitie in the will, pitie in the handes, loue in the hart, chastitie in the bodie, and life and death in the tongue? Yea, they are vertues infused into vessels corrupt, and appointed to consociate members putrified, who being so dangerous to be managed, and most easie to be broken, what suretie or gard is there to the life, when in the mouth is found no gouernment, and to the tongue is denied the gift of secrecie? For, hauing no bones to controll it, nor sinewes to restreine it, what science or meane hath it to doe that we commaunde it, or how we can it reteine and kepe secrete thinges which are referred to his trust and confidence? Therefore to the man that feareth death, and desireth long lyfe, it is neces-

2. Cor. 4.

ſarie he miniſter gouernement to his tongue, leaſt he knowe not how to prolong his life, and much leſſe finde out whereupon his death may come. Solomon then ſaid wiſely, that death and life were in the power of the tongue: meaning, that as to ſome men the tongue hath ſaued their life, ſo, in others, wicked ſpeach hath wrought ỳ occaſion of their death: for that to a noble minde, an iniurious word doth more hurt, then a great cutte or wound of a ſword on the bodie of a barbarous or rude man. And to proue by many examples and figures in the Scripture, the operation of the tongue, in the action of life and death: we read that Caine being aſked of God, why he had ſlaine his brother Abel? In place to repent him of the fact and aſke pardon of God, he ſaid that his fault was greater then that Gods mercie could forgiue it: againſt whome S. Auguſtine cryeth vehemently, that much leſſe that the mercie of the Lord could be inferior to the fault of Caine, ſeeing that to pardon and forgiue is a thing proper to God, and to reuenge and punish is farre eſtraunged from his nature: ſo that there is no doubt but greater was the offence of Caine in the words he ſaid, then in the murther he did: (ſince, if with the ſtroake of the ſword he take away the life of his brother, by the blaſphemie of his tongue he gaue death to his ſoule.) To kill his brother was euil done, but to deſpaire in Gods mercie, was euen a tranſgreſſion of the diuel, for that more do we offend God to eſteeme him without mercie, then in any other ſinne we commit againſt his maieſtie. Some of the Iewes crucified Ieſus with tormentes, and ſome with their tongues, in whome I thinke was deeper effect of ſinne, then in the reſt that pearced his bodie with nailes: for that, they layd their hands on him by ignorance, but the other filled their tongues with falſe teſtimonie, and blaſphemed and crucified him by malice. It is written in the prophete Eſay diſcourſing vpon the fall of Lucifer: *Quia dicebat in corde ſuo, in cœlum conſcendam, & ſuper aſtra Dei, &c.* Becauſe thou haſt ſaid, Oh Lucifer, that thou wouldeſt mount vp to the higheſt empire of heauen, and there erecte thy throne, and be like to the moſt high and mighty God, it was good iuſtice that thou ſhouldeſt

To pardon & forgiue is a thing proper to God.

We offend God more to thinke him to bee without mercy then in any other tranſgreſſion.

Eſaie 14.

thouldeſt fall from that thou waſt, ſince thou aſpiredſt to be that thou oughteſt not: yea, in thy ouerweening, expreſſed in proud and arrogant words was wrought the reaſon and effect of thy wretched fall: wherein let all men be warned to take heed what they ſay, what they do, and what they thinke, ſince Lucifer was not throwne from the ſeate where he ſate, euen into the bottomleſſe pitte where he fell, but for the diſdainefull words which he ſpake, and arrogant thoughtes hee conceiued: ſo that as his weening defaced him in heauen, ſo through his wickednes was he recommended to hell. Senacherib king of the Aſſyrians and a great blaſphemer againſt the omnipotencie of God, preparing a mightie armie againſt Hieruſalem, ſent his Heralds to king Ezechias with this ſummones, *Ne te ſeducat Deus tuus in quo fiduciam habes, non enim poterit vos quis de manu mea eripere*: Take heede king Ezechias (ſayeth he) and be not abuſed in confidence and opinion, that the ayde of thy God, or the power of thy huge armie are able to protect thee from the ſtroke of my hand, for that I will compel thee eftſoones to communicate in the tribute and ſubiection of thy anceſters. But ſo God kindled in indignation againſt theſe arrogant threates, that euen afore he had done any pillage or murther in the countrie, and in the beginning of the ſiege afore Hieruſalem, behold the angel of the Lord killed in one night, a hundreth and foureſcore thouſand men of his armie: and himſelfe fleeing to his citie of Niniui, was there ſlaine by his owne children, loſing in this ſort through the wickedneſſe of his tongue, his honour, his hoaſt, his kingdome, and his ſinneful life, where many other princes of the Aſſyrians, Perſies, Medes, and Aegyptians afore him, notwithſtanding they executed great cruelties ouer the common weales of the Hebrues, yet they made warrs with their weapons, and kept their tongues in reſt, and therefore were puniſhed with more fauour then moſt wicked Senacherib. Therfore amongſt princes in kingdoms, magiſtrats in publique office, and prelates in their congregations, as it is a thing of moſt equitie that they do iuſtice, ſo is it no leſſe vnſeemly to be blaſpemers or wicked ſpeakers (ſince oftetimes 4. Reg. 18.

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men doe more accompt of iniurious words spoken against them, then of the punishment that is layd vpon them.) And neither for the prince in his kingdome, nor the generall in the campe, nor to the Church man in time of peace, can it be any way conuenient to be proud in their conuersations, and lesse byting in their words. The kinred of Caine (sonnes of the patriarch Noe) said they would build a tower whose tops should aspire to heauen, to saue them from the furie of the flood if God sent any vpon the earth: wherein (as they imagined) that in their hands lay the power to auoyd death, and not in the might of God to take from them their life: so we haue assuredly to hold it a great mysterie, that for so great an offence God would not punish them in their persons, nor spoyle their goodes, nor reuerse their cities, and much lesse take from them their vices, but onely he chastised them in their tongues: against whose pride & arrogancie it is a good argument that God bare a greater displeasure, then against the huge tower they had erected. For that if he had not more despised their conspiring tongues, then their subtile buildings, he would rather haue defaced their tower, then confused and chaunged their languages. Before these cursed Babylonians drewe into counsell to build this tower, the whole world spake but one sort and phrase of language: but God, seeing the disposition of people and nations declining to doe wickedly, toke from them the manner of speaking, where (if it had so pleased him) he might haue drowned them, as he did the armie of Pharao: or stricken them blinde, as he did the Sodomites: or haue burnt them quicke as he did the children of Aaron. But according to the custome of his iustice, since with their tongues they had disobeyed him, he prouided that in their tõgues more then in any other thing, was published their punishment. Oh that men in these times would looke vp to the iustice which God thundred vpon Babylon! so should they forget to murmur, & forbeare to blaspheme, yea, if the impression of those threates would take place in their mindes, I doubt not but the backbiters would turne their tongues from slaunder, and all men ceasse to sinne, yea, if the consi-

In no estate is it seemely to be byting in words.

consideration of Gods iustice stod afore the secret conscience and iudgementes of princes, they would not be so subiecte to flatterie, although the time is now growen to this corruption, that who cannot flatter is estéemed either malicious or proude.

Who can not flatter is estee med eyther malicions or proud.

Such is the danger of the tongue, that if it be not restreyned to order and limit, it hath a naturall libertie to speake euen to our owne hurt: and the speach being none other thing than the image and figure of the minde, there is no lesse necessitie of temperance and counsel in the controllment of our tongue, then to gouerne our conscience. There is no other member apperteyning to man, wherein we haue a more facilitie to offend, then in the tongue, by whose vnbridled swiftnesse we are oftétimes caried into voyces sounding euen to our proper harmes, as happened to the Amalechite that brought Dauid the first newes of the death of Saule: I come from the Campe of the Hebrues (saith he) and bring thee tydinges that thy auncient enimie king Saul is dead, whereof these eyes are true witnesses, for that these hands slewe him obeying his owne request. But Dauid, notwithstanding he was deliuered of an enimie, could not but disdaine the boldnes of the messinger to lay violent hands vppon the Lords annointed, and therefore he gaue this sentence of him, Let thy bloud be vpon thine owne head, since thy mouth hath condemned thy life, and thy selfe hast spoken against thy selfe, saying: I haue killed the annoynted of the Lord, whose garment thou oughtest not so much as to touch, and much lesse spoile the libertie of his life. Here Dauid did not iustifie vpon this messinger so much for the murther he had done, as for that he made vaunt and glorie of it: so that as he slewe his Saule with the sword, so also he killed himselfe with his proper tongue. And albeit in respecte of the auncient quarell and warres betweene Saule & Dauid, this poore Amalechite hath thought to haue bin the bringer of glad tydinges, and for recompence to haue receiued great aduauncement: yet greater was the consideration of Dauid to reuenge the offence done against God, then either to reioyce in the newes, or regard the commodities that

We offend not more in any other mé ber then in the toung.

Sanguis tuus sit super caput tuum. 2. King 1.

greue to him by the death of King Saule: wherein, by somuch was his perfection and charitie greater, by howmuch he did not onely weepe for the death of his enimie, and honoured him with funerall pompe and burying, but also he gaue reuenge to his death. In that fearefull discourse which Christe makes of the riche man and Lazarus in the other worlde, we finde that the riche man cryed vnto Abraham to haue pittie on him: at least wise that he woulde sende Lazarus to touch with his finger the flame and heate of his tongue: which request, albeit it seeme to carrie no face of importance or greatnesse, yet the vpright iustice of God woulde neither heare nor helpe him: for that in his prosperitie hauing denied to the poore the verie crummes falling from his table, by what reason coulde he deserue a droppe of water to refreshe or comfort his necessities? And where by the testimonie of ỹ scripture, we finde that this wretched riche man was both a glutton, and an epicure in delights of banquets, garments, and all other sensualities: yet it is apparant that in no part of his body he feeles such sorrow, as in his tongue, nor in any sort committes so great sinnes as in speaking. By whose example and punishment, let all men in their conuersation bring forth vertue, and in their speeche vse counsell and discretion, (since The next way to liue in honour and die with prayse, is to be honest in desires, and to haue a tongue well corrected. And so for end, if to Caine, Lucifer, Senacherib, the builders of the tower of Babylon, the murderer of Saule, and the wicked rich man, had not bene ioyned vaine tongues to pronounce disdainefull and vndiscreete thinges, it may be beleeued that they had not with such lightnesse haue lost their liues in this world, nor in the other, had put their soules vnder perpetual damnation.

But nowe, hauing proued howe the tongue hath beene to many the cause of their death: let vs also in another example of the pietie of Dauid, proue that in it hath bene the occasion of life (according to the argument of our theame, That life and death are in the power of the tongue.) In the bodie of man, the most necessarie member is the hart: the godliest in-

struments

instrumentes are the eyes: the partes most delicate are the eares; and the thing wherein is most daunger with good reason we may say is the tongue. For that the hart thinketh only, the wil consents, the eares heare, the hands strike, but to ỹ tongue is tyed a propertie to kil and slay. And as our tongue is none other thing then as a white wall, whereon the wise man may paint deuout images, and the fole drawe thinges vaine and fond: so to him that can vse his tongue wel, it is an instrument that may work to his saluation, as of the contrary, who employeth it in ill seruices, it is sufficient to his damnation. For the heart being the forge whereon our wicked plottes are wrought, then that which oure tongue pronounceth is none other thing then the price and publication of the sinnes which we haue within our heart. But now to the history of king Dauid, a thing no lesse pitiful to heare, then necessarie to know: for that ỹ discourse leaues to all christians a true experience what weakenesse we haue to fall and with what readinesse we may eftsones rise againe. As king Saule by Gods will was depriued of his kingdome, so in his place ỹ eternall prouidence raised ỹ holy king Dauid, who in ỹ sight of ỹ Lord found so much grace, as the wicked Saule was disfauoured. So God loued Dauid, ỹ amongst all the patriarches he made him most honoured, amongest the prophets best inspired, amongst the capteines most feared, and amongst the kinges best esteemed and loued: yea he found him so agreeable in his sight, that he promised and swore to descend of his race, bearing himselfe such witnesse of his holinesse, that he confessed that amongst all ỹ children of Israel, he had found & chosen Dauid as best pleasing his hart & most agreeable to his will: and so was Dauid loued of God with a diuine affection for ỹ he serued him with all his hart: by which we may iudge that with one equall weight or measure, are peysed the loue which God beares to vs, & the seruices which we do to him. But as idlenes is ỹ enimie of vertue & the very traine to all wickednes, it happened that Dauid being in his palace, well disposed of his person, and mightie in countries (but his mind enuironed with idlenesse) hee fell into an accident most pre-

Inueni virum secundum cor meum.

God loues vs with the same measure wherewith we serue him.

preiudicial to his renoume, and no lesse infamous to his common weale. Whereby Princes may see, that more punishment doe they deserue for the euill example they giue, then for the vices they commit. For, it had not happened so to the good king Dauid, if he had beene either writing of Psalmes, or busie in some expedition of warre, or at least managing some other his affaires of importance: but such is the resolution of God, and so it is, so it hath beene, and so it shalbe, that from the time that princes take truce with their enimies, they set at libertie the flood of vices to runne with maine streame into their courts and palaces, according to the testimonie of S. Augustine in his booke *De Ciuitate Dei*.

More hurtfull was the citie of Carthage to Rome after her destruction, then during ỹ whole course and season of warres which the Romanes had with her: for that whilest they had enimies in Afrik, they knew not what vices ment in Rome. But now esthones to the historie. Dauid being idle in his gallerie, beheld the beautie of Bethsabe the wife of Vrias being then in the warres, and applying the absence of her husband to the commoditie of his desire, what with his great importunitie, and her small constancie, he committed adulterie and gat her with childe: and fearing detection of the fact, he wrote speedily to Ioab his Generall in those warres, that at the time of the assault, Vrias might be preferred to the peril of his life: wherein, according to the societie that is in sinne, it seemed that from one offence he appealed to an other, as from Epicuritie, he fell to idienesse, idlenesse bred in him foule desires, by desire he was driuen to solicite, by soliciting he beguiled her weakenesse, and after he had beguiled her, he fell to adulterie, and from adulterie to murther, so that the diuel had neuer deceiued him, if himselfe had not pitched the toyles of his proper harmes: yea, if Dauid had so serued God, as God loued him, he had neuer suffered him to fall so farre. For, with such care doeth the Lord hold vp such as striue to serue him, that he neuer suffereth them to fall into great sinnes. But if we doe slyde, stumble, and hurt our selues, let vs not be amazed, for euen the same infirmities are common

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to angels, therefore, when we pray to God, we ought to demaunde with teares and contrition, for that if he then suffer us to fall, he will also giue vs grace to rise againe, so prouident is the Lorde ouer the vertuous, (saith the prophet) and so carelesse to the sinner, that if the iust man swimme vppon the maine sea, he will not suffer him to be drowned: where the wicked walking vppon the firme lande, shall fall headlong into wels and deepe pittes: whiche the scripture doth construe to that soule a huge enormitie of sins, of the which he hath no power to repent. All this I haue written vppon the occasion of sinnes, wherein King Dauid fell, who notwithstanding vsed suche diligence to rise againe, and from the time of his restitution so laboured to liue in Gods feare, ẏ albeit he was brused with his fall, yet he was not greatly hurt. Imediatly then that the Lord aduertised Dauid by the prophet Nathan, that he was so muche kindled against him both for the adulterie and murder, that he would sende vpon him punishment according to the greatnesse of his fault: the good king lift vp his heart and handes to the Lorde, and cried *Peccaui*, and confessing himselfe to be an abhominable sinner, he rent the heauens with his sighes, and watered the earth with his infinite teares, wherein it is not to be doubted but that the exercise of so vnfeined repentance, and confession of his fault, was a greate degree to his forgiuenesse. He willed not the prophete to dispute with God, and saye on his behalfe that he was fraile, or that the diuell had deceiued him, or that it was a sinne humain: but he aspiring to the mercie of God, exhibited confession of his fault, saying, *Tibi soli peccaui, & malum coram te feci*: Wherein, in not seeking to iustifie his fault, he found forgiuenesse of his trespasse. Here may be gathered to the comfort of all good christians, that after Dauid had sinned, he went not so soone to searche God, as God was readie to receiue him, whose prouidence and perfection is suche ouer his chosen, that though they fall in any notorious crime, yet he suffereth them to haue no perseuerance in it, according to the experiẽce of his heauenly bountie, expressed vppon S. Matthew and S. Paul,

The conclusion.

whome Christ searched, with the blinde man neare the highe way, with others of whom the Scripture giues testimonie that Christ searched them. Then let all Christians confesse the wonderfull clemencie of God, who euen in our negligence goeth out to seeke vs: though we praye him not, yet he prayeth vs, and where we forget to call to him, he sayles not to call vppon vs, so that if we lose our selues, and be the instrumentes of our owne destruction, it is not so muche for that we haue sinned, as for that after our transgression, we will not beleeue. Let vs therefore take pleasure to heare when GOD calles vs: let vs be glad to be found when the Lord searcheth vs: let vs be readie to follow when he guides vs: let vs be willing to beleeue, when he takes from vs all deceit: and let vs thinke vs happie to serue him, when he is disposed to pay vs our hire. Yea, since he is so liberall and pitifull towardes vs, let vs with the counsel of S. Paule, Goe with confidence to the throne of his grace. For, seeing he went to seeke Dauid who had offended him, let vs beleeue that he will be founde and entreated of any that is his true seruant, (the conditions of the house of God being such, that as none are compelled to enter into it, so it resistes none that knock at the gates.) Where Dauid stoode not to reason with him selfe that he had sinned in this, or in that vse haue to gather by him, that the matter of our saluation consistes not so much in multiplication of wordes, as to reforme our liues and increase daily in good deedes. And truely God hath no necessitie of great cryes, to the ende he maye heare vs, and lesse neede of many reasons to persuade, howe to vnderstande vs, since Dauid vsed no other solicitor for the appeasing of Gods wrath, then the implouation of a penitent heart, crying: *Tibi, tibi soli peccaui & coram te malum feci.* Here, though men regard (for the most parte) the exposition of the words, yet with God the impression of the heart standes alwayes most acceptable, as appeared in this confession of Dauid, who acknowledging simply that he had sinned without further dispute with God, the Lord was neither scrupulous nor suspicious for that he spake no more but one worde, but had

Lamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ eius.

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regard to the sinceritie of the heart where with he repented. Oh omnipotent Jesus and sweet comfort of our soules, graunt that with Dauid, we may cease to sinne and begin to amend our life, and let vs with S. Paule confesse our sinnes with intention to offend no more: & where, by our proper corruption, we are subiect to daily transgression without the ayde of thy holy spirite, graunt that as thy lawe is replenished with mercy, so with Dauid we may finde remission, cõfessing with him, that we haue sinned with intent to offend no more. Let vs (in the deuotion of Dauid) recõmend to Gods mercy the faultes and ignorances of our youth, for that in that tender age we knowe not what we did, and were ignorant in that we ought to do. Wherin, where Dauid asked pardon of God only for the trãsgressions of his youth, and not for the sinnes he committed when he was old, and well experienced in the thinges of the world (the faultes of which age are not to be called ignorauncas, but malices: not simplicities, but filthy enormities: not light vanities, but heauie vices: & not faults doue for want of knowledge, but offences committed with well aduised wil and resolution:) we haue reason to thinke, that if his old age had ben also defiled with crimes & sinne, he had likewise offered them vp as a sacrifice with the confession of the abuses of his youth. By which is well proued, that muche doth it import when God pardoneth our sinnes past, without sufferance eftsones to returne and fall into them againe. For Dauid had no sooner cryed *Peccaui*, then God was readie to answere, Loe here I forgiue thee. Whereby it is manifest that we are more slowe to confesse our offences, then God to exhibite his mercie.

And so for ende of this discourse, That life and death are in the power of the young, we see that as to many it hath ben the occasion of death, so to the good king Dauid, it was the meane to preserue his life here through grace, and in the other world to establish it in eternall glorie, to the which the spirite of God bring vs all. Amen.

A letter to a great learned man answering to certeine demaundes.

THis hath bene alwayes one strong propertie in your friendship, that the more I trauelled to serue you, the more you studied to trouble me, and that not so much for necessitie of matter, as with intention to exercise and proue my skill: wherein albeit to your wit is ioyned a naturall readinesse more then in many others, yet your curiousnesse bringes with it this suspicion, that you haue more want of iudgement then lacke of time, specially desiring aunswers to those demaundes, whose vse ought to be familiar with all men that beare opinion of knowledge or science. And where you wrote to mee, but in sport, and for the experience of your memorie, I will notwithstanding answere you in good earnest, following therein the manner of the ancient orators, who in causes moste base and of least importance expressed a greatest shewe of their eloquence.

Demaundes and answeres.

How to know a good man.

WHere you aske me how one man may know another, to the end he may be either accepted or eschuede, I answere that there be foure rules to instruct you. First, what affaires he takes in hande, what works he doth, what wordes he speaketh, and what companie he followeth. For, the man that of nature is proude, in his businesse negligent, in his wordes a lyer, and calleth to his companions euill men, deserues not to be imbraced, and much lesse to be trusted: since, in men in whom is laide no ground of vertue, is no expectation of faith, or honestie. You aske me which be the thinges that in this life cannot be bought for treasure, and much lesse any liuing thing can hold value and comparison with theme I answere they be these foure: the libertie we haue, the science we learne, the health we enioy, and the vertue for the

What thinges are most precious and yet not to be bought for mony.

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libertie lighteth the heart, knowledge inricheth the vnderstanding, health preserues our life, and vertue is the glorie of the soule: all which are so much the more precious, by how much they are the true figures and fore-runners of Gods grace to such as it pleaseth him to esteeme chosen. Where you aske me what be the thinges which soonest deceiue man, and by whose meanes he runs with more readinesse into destruction: I say they be in these foure; a thirst to haue much, a desire to know much, an experience to liue long, and an ouerweening of our owne worthinesse & value: all which are most daungerous stumbling blockes to make man fall, for that too great knowledge ends with follie, too much wealth breedes pride, in liuing long we grow negligent, and in presuming of our owne value, we fall into forgetfulnesse of our selues: so that as euery one of these in particular is sufficient to make a man fall, so, in them all is full abilitie to holde him downe that he neuer rise againe. To your demaunde what things are necessarie to a iudge, to the end he may vse iustice and equitie, and not be noted of tyrannie: I answere, that we ought to heare patiently, answere wisely, iudge iustly, and execute mercifully: for, to that iudge that is impatient in hearing, vaine or fraile in his answers, partiall in iudgement, and cruell in execution, cannot worthily be ascribed the administration of iustice, since the office of a good iudge is to consult with the law, with religion, with truth, with equitie, and with mercie. You aske me what be the things that make a man discreete in his behauiour, and wise in his words: Whereunto I answere, to reade much, to be priuie to the customes of many countries, to haue indured many perplexities, and manged greate affayres: for to rayse a man to the true estimation of wisedome, is to trauell many countries, to studie many lawes and doctrines, to be able to indure much paines, and to haue experience of graue affayres. To your demaunde, what be the things that a man thinkes he hath when he hath them not: I say they are these foure. Many friendes, great wisedome, much knowledge, and greate power: for that there is no man

What thinges soonest deceiue man.

Foure thinges necessarie to a iudge.

Foure thinges necessarie to instruct the behauiour of man.

Foure thinges which though we thinke we haue, yet wee haue the not.

man (howe mightie so euer he be) who is not subiect to be vanquished by an other, no man so wise in whose doings is not errour, no mans knowledge so resolute, who is not ignorant in some thinges, nor any man so well beloued who hath not some secret enimie: so that we haue fewer friends then we suppose, our power lesse then we desire, our knowledge not so much as we presume, and all our wisedome full of imperfection. Touching your demaund to know what be the things wherein a man doth the soonest vndoe him selfe, and most slowly recouer? I say they be these foure: to be dilatorie in his businesse, to forsake the counsel of a faythfull friende, to meddle with things that he ought not, and to dispend aboue his proportion: for, the man that is negligent in that he takes in hande, forbeareth the aduise of his wise friende, ioyneth him selfe to assayes of perill and difficultie, and dispendeth aboue the measure of his reuenue, such one shall easily fall and finde no helpe to rise againe. You aske me what be the things which aboue all other a man woulde not endure? I say they be these foure: pouertie in olde age, sickenesse in person, infamie after honour, and banishment from his naturall countrie: for, to bee sicke in prison, to be poore and olde, to be detected after we haue borne honour, and to be exiled without hope ettsones to recouer the solace of our countrie, be passions so intollerable, that to the valiaunt mynde an honest death were more plausible, then to languish like a martyr in such a miserable life. And where you aske me what be the thinges which God abhorreth, and are abhominable to men? I answere, they are comprehended in these foure: a poore man to be proud, a rich man to be couetous, an olde man to be lecherous, and a young man shameleſſe: For, where young men are impudent, old men without modestie, poore men voyde of humilitie, and the rich sort diuided from charitie, there can be no vertue cherished, nor good example ministred. You aske me what ought to be the qualities of suche as men chose to their friends, and in whome they may repose & take recreation? To such friends belong these foure conditions: To be eloquent, to be liberall, to be tractable, and to be trustie: For, where is a sweete

Things wherin a man doth the soonest vndo him selfe & is most slowly recouered.

What bee the thinges which a man woulde not willingly indure.

Foure thinges which God abhorreth & are abhominable to man.

Foure qualities necessarie in a friend.

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affabilitie of speach, a franke liberalitie of that they haue, a nature easie to be induced, and a mynde that hateth no corruption, there is no doubt of honestie, and lesse suspicion of treason. To your demaund to knowe in what things a man receiueth most sorrow, and his mynde most troubled: I answere that it is in these foure: To see the death of his children, to heare of the losse of his goods, to beholde the prosperitie of his enimies, and cannot reforme the vanities of his friends. Nature sure can not minister a more torment to the hearte of a man, then to burie his children he hath nourished, to lose the goodes he hath got together, to be subiect to his enimie, and see his friend continue in abuse and follie. You aske me what be the thinges for the which a man doth most murmur, and discloseth soonest his impatiencie? They be these foure. To serue without recompence, to aske and be denyed, to giue without thankes, and to hope for thinges that come not: For that, where to a benefite is offered vnthankfulnes, and to a iust demaund is added denyall, where no recompence followeth due merite of seruice, and where that comes not which we hope for, Oh, in those causes though the heart be driuen to suffer, yet the toung can not be silence. You aske me what be the foure thinges that rather dye then are satisfied? And I answere, that how olde so euer men be, and their bodies broken with extreme trauelles, yet you shall neuer see their toung satisfied with speaking superfluous thinges, their eares wearie with hearing nouelties, their handes cloyed with doing wickedly, nor their heart cease to desire vanities. You aske me what be the thinges whiche men can not chose but feele, and are lesse able to conceale? They be these foure. Riches, loue, sorowe, and euil will: For, loue is discouered by sighes, hatred appeareth in the eyes, riches are expressed in the port and countenance, and dolor declares himself by complaint: so that where some men may for a time dissemble them, yet none can long conceale them. Where you aske me what be the thinges in a man most prayse worthy and aboue all other to be estemed best? You shall finde them comprehended in these foure. That is to

Foure thinges that most trouble a man.

Foure thinges which soonest disclose mens impatiencie.

Foure thinges seldome satisfied.

Foure thinges which mē can not chose but feele and are lesse able to conceale.

Foure thinges in a man most praise worthy.

say, to be a good Christian, to be vpright and true, to be patient, and to be secret: for, that man that in his workes shall exercise the duetie of a good Christian, and in iniuries shall vse patience and discretion, in his words deliuer simplicitie and truth, and haue iudgement to keepe things secret, such a one be bolde to boast in your bosome, and laye vp for him the reward of an vnfeined affection. You aske me who they be that most readily get friends, and as easily loose them? Whereunto I answere, that they be these foure sortes, the riche sort, young men, such as are mightie, and those that are fauoured of princes. But lame doth the riche man loose his friendes when he ceases to be power, and sooner is the youthfull man forgotten when he falles into age, easily is the mightie man forsaken when his power is taken from him, and soonest of all falles the credit of the courtier, when the prince withdrawes his fauour. You aske me what ought to be the conditions of one that entereth seruice? To him I appoynt these foure: to be diligent, to be patient, to be faithfull, and to be true: for, the seruant that can suffer when he is rebuked, is iust in the office and charge committed to him, diligent to learne that he knoweth not, and faithfull in things committed to his trust: let the maister be glad to haue such a seruant, and that seruant not doubt of his aduancement. You aske me what be the things which women desire most, and hold themselues best contented withall? Sure I will forbeare to describe their particular fancies: for that their desires are without limite, and therefore, according to my order in the rest, I will restraine them into these foure. To be gorgiously apparelled, to be exceeding fayre, to go whither they list, and that men deeme what they say: for, to a woman no ielle glorious are her garmentes, her beautie, her opinion of credit, and her libertie, then the plaines of the peacocke, who in other respectes is both loathsome and vnacceptable. You aske me with what obseruations we ought to giue when we giue any thing? Whereunto I answere, that in administring liberalitie all men are tyed to these foure respectes: to consider well in what we giue, to knowe to whome we giue, to vnderstande

Who they bee that most readily get friendes and as easily loose thé.

Foure conditions of a seruãt

Foure desires of women.

Foure obseruations to bee vsed in giuing

derstande the cause why we giue, and to haue regarde to the time when we giue: for, it is needefull we iudge and weigh the value and qualitie of our gift, lest we giue lesse then to suffice the necessitie of him to whome we giue: to know to whom we giue, lest there be no merite nor iust necessitie in the person: to examine well the occasion why we giue, to the end that it be for good respect: and aboue al, who obserues not the time, giues perhappes to no fruite or commoditie of him that receiueth: so that, who giues out of these conditions, giues not in true liberalitie, but as ẏ blind man, who weening to powre drinke into his dishe, powreth it into the riuer which hath no neede to be liquored. Where you aske me what be the qualities moste necessarie in a Prince helping best to mainteyne his reputation? I say they consist in these foure: to haue courage or vertue to suffer, a heart to giue, a hande to reward, and clemencie to pardon: all other imperfections ought to be suffered in a prince, if there be onely founde in him clemencie to forgiue faultes, liberalitie to giue dignities, a memorie to adde recompence to seruices, and patience to suffer traueyles and chaunces. Where you aske me what thinges a Gentleman ought moste to take heede of, and whereof he is the soonest noted? I sende you them comprehended in these foure: in cowardise, in nigardnesse, in lying, & in iniustice: for, the gentleman that in warre is a cowarde, in his house a nigarde, in his countrie a tyrant, and in his words a liar, much lesse that to such one is due the merit and reputation of a gentleman, seeing he is not worthie to communicate with the fellowship euen of the meanest estate in a common weale. And where you aske me, with what qualities a maid is to winne her renowne and estimation? I say that it is necessarie she be faire of face, honest in life, an enimie to libertie, and a despiser of bawds and disolute persons: for that if in her face she shew not a pleasing beautie, & in her conuersation bring not forth honestie & vertue, if she be a wanderer after libertie, and delight to whisper & haue intelligence with secrete messinges, her renowne shal runne as a streame that neuer

Foure necessarie qualities in a prince helping to mainteine his reputation.

Foure thinges which a gentleman had most neede to take heede of, and whereof he is most noted.

Foure qualities incident to a mayd to winne her renowne.

reasleth till it fall into a puddle that cannot eftsones be repurified. Thus (sir) are your demaundes aunswered, though not with such plentie of eloquẽce as you loked for: yet with that fulnesse of matter as may well suffice for your instruction, specially being not drawen out of any great volumes or antiquities, but compounded of mine owne experience and common reason.

¶ Touching the warre which a man makes against himselfe.

Factus sum mihi-metipsi grauis.

Oh complayning in his great affliction, confessed that he was made grieuous euen to himselfe. Meaning that with better reason could he not complain against any, then against himselfe, for that being contrarie to himselfe, he heaped his proper affliction. This sort of complayning is so much the more straunge, by how much it exceeds the cõmon custome and experience of men in that case. For that, how deepe soeuer any man be intangled with sinne & crime, yea, though he stand conuicte, yet will he rather labour to detect others then accuse himselfe. And albeit there is nothing more common in this world then to fall, to offend, and dwel in sinne and wickednesse, yet in few men is found a disposition to pardon iniuries, but in fewer is expressed a wil to expresse their proper error. For that, to fall and erre is a thing humane, to repent comes of God, but to cõtinue in euil cannot but be of the diuel. When complaine of the earth for that it is vnfruitfull, and of the sea, saying it is daungerous, they mislyke the ayre, because it is corrupt, they cry out of Fortune by reason of her inconstancie, they grudge against their friendes when they are found vnfaithfull, and cry out of the time that slips away so fast: those men (for the most part) as they complaine more by custome then vpon any cause, so albeit there is no man which in true examination is not ỳ instrument of his proper harme, yet we heare none complaine against themselues. But, as one not cunning at dice, blames

To repent coms of God.

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not himself that vnderstandeth not the game, but ỳ dice that run not as he would haue them: so, forbearing to descend into conference & examination of our secrete faultes, we murmur against that we feele, and search not out ỳ occasion of our torment, to ỳ end to remoue ỳ furie of the affliction. For if we would draw into view and consideration our abuses past, and wey in one balance aswel the faults we haue done, as the punishments we feele, we should cõfesse that God toucheth vs but with a milde iustice, & spareth to visite vs according to the heauines of our deserts. Yea, if this regard were familiar with men, who would not forbeare to murmur, and begin to make warre against himselfe as being the author of his own harmes? But because this text of Iob cõplayning, That he makes warre against himselfe, is of importance and conteineth mysterie, we haue to gather that he meaneth not here the warre of one kingdome against another, nor ciuil warre of towne against towne, and much lesse the warre of singular cõbate of man against man: but (saith he) this warre that I make is against my selfe, no mã assaulting or offending me: a warre, sure, of all others most daungerous to take in hand, and of no lesse difficultie to manage, for that in this warre, who is victor remaines vanquished, and he that is ouercome carrieth the victorie. This warre is called *Visceral*, for that it is bred and begon in the heart, and dissolueth and takes end in the heart, where the arrowes be the teares we shed, the cannon shot be the sighs we vtter, and who retyreth most to sorrow and heauines, in this warr hath most knowledge and experience. In this warre fight together loue and feare, sweetnesse & bitternes, abstinence and Epicuritie, robberie and almes, reason and sensualitie, slouth and diligence, anger & patience, couetousnes and liberalitie, forgiuenes and reuenge: so that in this wretched warr we fight not accompanied, but alone, not in publique, but in secret, not in camp, but in conscience, not with sword, but with thoughts and remorse, & not against enimies, but euen against our selues. This warre is not seene wt the eye, but felt (alas) in the hart: yea & if we wil daunt to be victors, we must suffer our selues

to be

be vanquished. In this warre haue bene dissolued and determined all the good and vertuous men that haue bene in the world to this present, who by so much haue bene more agreable to God, by howe muche they were contrarie to themselues. For, in the subduing or victorie which is betweene sensualitie and reason, lyeth our destruction or saluation. It is a thing worthie of wonder and admiration, that Iob having seene the spoyle and hauocke of his goodes, heard of the sodaine death of his children, his bodie reduced to a deformitie with botches, himselfe laide on a dunghill where wormes had libertie to gnaw his flesh, his frends disdayning him, his wife vering him: and yet he neuer murmured so muche against all these heauie perplexities and fortunes, as he complayned against himselfe, crying: Lo I am made grieuous to my selfe. Of this warre, and against himselfe did the apostle complayne in these wordes: *Infelix homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius?* Oh wretched and miserable man that I am, when shall I see my selfe free from my selfe, that I may doe that I woulde, and not to be compelled (as I am now) to will that which I cannot? Oh how often doe I feele my selfe tied and fettered (saith S. Augustine) not with chains of yron but with the cord of mine owne sensualities: so that resolued wholy into teares, I complaine not of another, but against my self, for that, giuing to the enimie my quarel, I did against my will. With this agreeth Anselmus in his holie meditations, saying: Oh infelicitie of me, I know not what to do nor what to say: for, being contrarie to my self, though I haue libertie to complaine: yet doe I put no order to my faults being made greeuous euen to my selfe. The passions of this warre were also felt of the holie man, S. Barnard: Oh sweete Lord (saith he) I am so greeuous to my selfe, that hunger weakneth me, eating wearieth me, colde restraineth me, heat annoyeth me, care makes me heauie, & companie is importunate to me, & that which I finde most hard & intollerable, is that nothing contents me, being with my selfe muche discontented. S. Hierome also seemed to communicate in this agonie, saying: I cannot denie but that I am made greeuous to

In cõquering sensualitie, we get the victorie of our saluation.

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my selfe: since as sathan solicites, and my flesh consenteth, so my sensualitie desireth to haue honours, to get riches, to purchase fauour: I would gouerne all, be of great power, & esteeme of no man: yea, in the matter of commaundement and authoritie I would be alone and singular, and wholy exempt from trauell. But so grieuous am I to my selfe, that though I diuide my selfe from men, bycause they shall not trouble me: though I flie from sathan, for that he shall not deceiue me: though I renounce riches, to the ende they corrupt me not: and despise honors, for that they shal not make me proude: yet I finde my selfe from one day to an other to diminishe in heritie, and more to be swallowed vppe in the gulphes of the world. I haue inferred the testimonies of these holy personages, the better to warne sinners, that as they complayned of them selues not without reason, so, we should not repose confidence in our selues by presumption: for, the wiseman ought not to be so suspitious of any as of him selfe. We are made grieuous to our selues: for that if the Prince vse vs displeasure we may forsake the realme: if the iudge be against vs, we may challenge him and refuse him: and if our neighbour be troublesome to vs, our helpe is to diuide vs from his neighbourhode: But if we be enimies to our selues, it is impossible to flie from our selues. We are grieuous to our selues: for that in one hart, and in one litle house, we must locke vp and keepe loue and hatred, contentment and displeasure, prosperitie and aduersitie, consent and denial, and hope and despaire: so that we trust our selues too much, being of our selues deceiued. We are made grieuous to our selues: since as well by day as night we are vnresolute what we ought to chuse or refuse, what we should loue or hate, what we are bounde to flee or follow, what belongs to vs to giue or to keepe, wherein we ought to speake or beholde our peace, and whether we should suffer or reuenge: wherein in the end we finde our selues vnhappie in all things, hauing that euen in our infelicities we are happier. We are grieuous to our selues: since all the delightes of this life displease vs, we arise vs, and turne to our

A wise man ought not to bee suspicious of him selfe.

discon-

discontentment: and yet being wearie to liue, we would in no wise die: yea though we abstaine sometime from sinne, it is not for want of will, but because we cannot, as men that are tyed and haue no facultie to goe further. We are made greeuous against our selues: for that if we be sicke, it comes through our owne surfett and disorder: if we be poore, it is because we liue idly: and if we be punished by ỹ magistrate, it is for that we haue offended the lawes: so that in none is so iust cause of complaint against any, as in man against himselfe: for that all the trauels, perplexities, and infirmities, that trauell our fraile bodies, our selues do breed them, and for the most part we go out and search them. For in giuing libertie to our eyes to behold things vaine, in suffering our tongue to tell vntruethes, in yeelding our eares to heare flatteries, and our heart to loue thinges that we ought not: I say, if there be in vs any member that abstains from sinne it is not through any resistance that we make, but for feare of some punishment.

Then, if it be true that we raise warre against our selues, with whome shall we haue true peace? If wee worke our owne afflictions, in whom shall we finde comfort? to whom shal we not be hurtful, if we be enimies to our selues? and against whome may we make complaint, seeing of our selues we receiue the iniuries? There is in vs no hope or expectation of profite to others, when we are hurtfull instruments against our selues. Oh wretched infelicitie of man! to whom there are none so furious and raging enimies as his proper desires: who on the one side hold him in feare, and on the other giue him courage and heart. Sure, we ought to be greeuous against our selues, when we remember ỹ great wealth we haue, & the little good we do with it, when we conferred our time lost, with the euil example we haue expressed: yea, when we measure the benefites we haue receiued, wd our ingratitude: our readinesse to sinne with our slowdes to amende the ill that we haue done, with the good we might haue done: we ought (I say) in true conference and consideration of these thinges, to be ashamed to liue, and haue great feare to die.

¶ Plutarch writeth to the Emperour Traiane, being lately his disciple, and now rayſed to the empire. A letter tending to inſtruct princes newly rayſed to principalities.

RIght excellent prince: albeit the long experience I haue had of the moderation of your will, together with what diſpoſition you haue alwayes affected eſtates and dignities: yet I haue neuer knowen you ſubiect to thoſe paſſions which for the moſt part gouerne moſt men, that is, to aſpire to kingdomes and principalities. A man to forbeare to winne and purchaſe honour, is out of the limits of wiſedome, but not to giue libertie to the heart to deſire it, is ſure a vertue more diuine then humane. For, y man doth enough who reſtraineth the action that his hands haue power to execute, and maketh his deſires equal with things honeſt, indifferent, and reaſonable: wherein with iuſt cauſe may I ſay thy empire is happie, ſince thou haſt done acts to deſerue it, and vſed no corrupt induſtrie to purchaſe it. For, dignities apperteyning properly to vertue, vertue of her ſelfe tranſferreth them to thoſe men, to whome her ſelfe is conioyned. There haue beene many Emperours, who haue not beene ſo much honoured for the eſtates they haue had, as for the merite of their vertues, by the which they haue beene raiſed vnto them. For, the honour of a man conſiſtes not ſo much in y preſent office he hath, as in the vertues and merits which followed his life afore: ſo that it is to offices that men giue no honour, where to the perſonage belonges nothing but paine and charge. And therefore remembring for mine owne part, that I haue gouerned thy youth and inſtructed thy wit with good learning, I cannot but reioyce as much in thy excellent vertues, as in thy ſupreame fortune, alluding to my ſelfe no ſmall happines, that in my time Rome hath a Lord, euen he that hath beene my diſciple.

Prin-

Principalities of tyrannie are got by force, and sustained by armes, which as I haue alwayes knowen to be far from thy nature & condition, so hast thou now to remember, that thou oughtest to doe nothing to bring thee into the opinion & suspicion of men. For, as the empire is descended vnto thee with the voice and consent of all men, so it belonges to thee to entertaine it with due iustice towards all sorts: wherein, if thou best thankfull to the great God, patient in chaunges and fortunes, carefull in daungers, mylde to thy people, and affable to strangers, not gredie of riches, nor a louer of thy proper desires, the burthen of thy place will be easie, thy regnome perpetuall, and all common weales and posterities made happie by thy example. I aduise thee with great reason, not to be a follower of thy proper desires, for that there can be no worse gouernement then that which is managed by opinion onely: since he that dominereth in a common weale, ought to liue in feare of all, but much more of himself, for that much more is he subiecte to fault and error, following his will and fantie, then if he followed the direction of his well aduised counsell, assuring thee, that to anoyd infamie to thy selfe, and preiudice to thy people, thou oughtest as well to applie correction to thy selfe, afore thou minister discipline to others. Therefore, it were good that now that then commaundest, thou shouldest represse thy selfe such one as when thou wast commaunded: for, other wayes little would it serue thee by thy vertues to haue deserued the empire, if afterwardes thy want of gouernement made thee vnworthie to bee it: since it is more worthie to deserue honour then to possesse it. To attaine to honour is a worke humane, but to preserue it is a grace diuine: and therefore thou hast to take heede, that though thou art a soueraigne prince, yet thou hast no priuilege to be in all thinges an absolute Lorde: For, amongst men there is no authoritie so supreame, which hath not God to be iudge ouer them, and men to be beholders of what they doe. In which respect, now that thou art a prince, thou hast a greater bonde to be good, and lesse libertie to be euill, then when thy estate was priuate: so that

It is more worthy to deserue honour then to possesse it.

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the authoritie thou hast got to commaunde, leaues thée lesse libertie to offende, and no opportunitie at all to followe thy proper recreations. For, if thy regiment answere not the expectation of the people of Rome, and thy behauiour be cõtrarie to the desires and opinion of thy olde maister Plutarche, thou canst not but be subiect to many daungers, and offer my aged body into the hands of my aduersaries to suffer reuenge, since this is a common custome, that the faultes and abuses of the disciple are transferred and heaped vppon the head of the instructour and maister. And therefore hauing bene thy teacher, and thou my folower, like as the good that thou doest can not but bring to me some honour, so also if thou doest euill, I can not but communicate in the infamie. Which happened to Seneca, who bore imputation for the cruelties of Nero: and the philosopher Chilo, for the follies of his disciple Leander: who albeit were personages of suche vertue, as they had the credite to fashion and gouerne right mightie princes: yet, for that they flatered their greatnesse with libertie and fauour, when they should haue distilled into their youth, doctrine, and rules of direction, they left to them selues perpetuall infamie, and to many common weales peril of subuersion. And as my pen hath not spared to describe princes and ages past, so be thou assured (Oh Emperour) that neyther thy greatnesse nor my negligence shal be fauoured of such as are to come: for, otherwise it wil not come to passe, but that such as haue interest in the faulte, should be also inheritours of the punishment. Thou remembrest what I haue taught thée in thy youth, and with what counsels I haue instructed thy riper age, neyther art thou ignoraunt, I knowe, with what frankneste I haue debated with thée by letters, since thou wast a Prince, and familiarly communicated with thée in secrete: wherein I stode alwayes vpon these obseruations, not to make thée acquainted with any thing which should not be for the seruice of God, for the aduauncement of the common weale, and furthering to thy reputation. And therfore, for any thing I haue written, spoken, or persuaded, I stande not in feare to be punished of

No prince but his behauiour is published.

God after my deth, nor to be reproched of mē whileſt I liue, accounting it to belong to the neceſſitie of thy age, and grauitie of my profeſſion, to whiſper nothing in thine eare, which I might not haue publiſhed in the open Senate. And nowe, (afore I adreſſed this letter vnto thee) examining my ſelf, whether during the time I had thee vnder my diſcipline, I had done or ſayde in thy preſence any thing whiche might prouoke thee to yll example, I finde that I neuer did any thing which became not well the ciuilitie of a good Romane, nor ſpake worde, which was not fully conuenient with the modeſtie of a correct philoſopher: ſo that if it pleaſe thee to make the rules and inſtructions of thy youth, the compaſſe to direct the courſe of thy high gouernment and reigne, thou ſhalt finde the nedle of thy life and doings to drawe directly to a renoume of perpetuall fame and felicitie: wherein I doe not ſo much put thee in remembraunce, to the ende thou ſhouldeſt gratifie me, but bycauſe thy life being well inſtructed, there may followe better ſeruice and ſucceſſe to thy eſtate, eſteeming it inough for my recōpence to vnderſtande that the world holdes thee a good man. I beſeeche thee take this laſt counſel in good parte, that albeit thou art rayſed to the empire, it is not for that thou art of the houſe of Rome, but bycauſe thou haſt bene a follower of vertue, which willeth Princes, not to meaſure things by common reporte of the people, but by iuſtice and equitie of conſcience.

Princes ought not to meſure things by report but by the equitie of conſcience.

The Emperour Traiane writeth to his teacher Plutarche, debating that albeit a good man may be baniſhed, yet he is not for that diſhonoured.

Afore I had halfe read thy letter, I had coniecture it came from thee, not ſo much for the experience I haue of thy forme of writing, as by the grauitie of the matter it conteyneth, the ſame being the occaſion that I read it often, ſeeming therin to ſee thee write, and

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and heare thée speak: yea, I caused it to be read at my table, to the ende thy affection might be knowne, and put in remembrance howe muche I owe to thée. Where thou canst not beléeue (as thou sayst) that I solicited the kingdome, nor aspired to it by corrupt meanes, I will not denie but as a man I haue desired it, forbearing notwithstanding to rise to it by brokage or corruption: for that I neuer knewe any man purchase honour by brybes, to whome the meane of such honour was not the cause of such notable infamie, as is truely verified in the example of the good olde man Mænander, who, for that he practised the Consulship by money, was past into exile, and so (by the due iustice of the highest) lost his honour, goods, and life. It was a doctrine to reade in the Vniuersitie, that more ought men to labour to deserue honour, then to be bold to procure it, estéeming that vnlawful, which is gotten by vnlawfull meanes. He that is without credite, ought to labour to winne it: and who is in infamie, let him studie to be made worthy of honour: but the man of vertue hath neuer want of nobilitie, and much lesse can his honour be taken from him: since honour is ioyned to vertue as the bryer is to the rose: and though all other things be of fortune, yet true nobilitie dependes of vertue, as the house vpon his foundation. Many men haue refused offices, and yet muche lesse that they liued in lesse loue and estimation, séeing the disclayming of dignities brought to them more honour then all the victories they won in the warrs, for that ỹ successe of conquestes followe (for the most parte) the iudgement of fortune, but the denyall of office and charge lyeth only in the wisedome of man. I assure thée when the insigne of the Empire was presented to me, I was no lesse ignorant of the chaunce then out of hope of the dignitie, knowing that it was solicited by others with no meane practise and corruptions. But séeing it is the prouidence of the great God to make me his minister, béeing called with the consent and will of all men, and that I haue assurance in thy aduice and counsel, I doubt not but God will communicate with me in the gouernement, and restraine fortune for giuing me a-

That is vnlawfull whiche is got by vnlawfull meanes.

my suche souden mutation as may chaunge the courage and constancie of my mynde: assuring thée, that I acknowledge me to haue bene thy disciple, euen with the same ioy wherewith thou sayest thou hast taught me, and now séest me Emperour. Wherein, séeing thou wilt not from henceforth but call me Lord, I wil neuer speake of thée by other name then Father. And albeit I haue bene sought to, and counselled of many since my election to the kingdome, yet amongest all, I reserue my selfe to be familiar onely with thée, considering that in suche as sue to giue me counsell, is an intention to drawe my will to theirs, wherein I knowe thou wilt not aduise me but for my profite and commoditie of my honour.

Suche as giue counsel to princes shuld be free from passions.

Oftentimes I haue heard thée say, that in such as giue counsel to Princes shoulde be libertie and freedome from al passions and affections: for that in the action of counsel giuing, where the will is most inclined, there the spirite and witte haue most strength. That a Prince in all things doe his will, I doe not allowe, and that he take counsel of euerie one, is lesse seemely: therefore, as to the affaires of a kingdome can not but be a great necessitie of aduise, so lette the Prince make this choyce of his counsellers, rather to be counselled by those of whome he is loued, then by suche as him selfe loueth. For, in the affection of the counseller to his Prince is great securitie and care of the common busines, where from suche as be followers of the Prince, can grow no great matter of prouidence for the publique saftie, as being men all together dedicated to the complexion and humours of the Prince.

What counsellers Princes ought to choose.

Wherein hauing had long experience of thy déepe insight in matters of policie, and no lesse expectation that thou wilt vse no lesse care to direct me nowe being a Prince, then thou tookest paynes to instruct me whē I followed thée as thy disciple: I will that from henceforth to thée belong the chiefe charge to giue me counsel in my most weightie affayres, and to aduertise me of the imperfections and faultes that from time to time appeare in me. For, as Rome holds me for the protectour of their common weale, so I reserue thée to be the beholder and examiner of my

my lyfe. And if at any time thou findeſt me froward, to be warned by thée in thinges neceſſarie for my reformation, I pray thée conſtrue it not to any diſpleaſure towards thée: ſince in ſuche caſe, my paſſion ſhall not be for the warnings thou gineſt me, but for the ſhame that I haue erred. And as to haue bene nouriſhed in thy houſe, to haue heard thy lectures, to haue imitated thy doctrines, and to haue liued vnder thy diſcipline, haue bene (ſure) principall meanes to preferre me to the empire: So, it can not but be aſcribed to great inhumanitie to thée, if thou forbeare to helpe me, to manage and guide that which thou haſt procured me to win & get, eſteeming it I aſſure thée, to my great felicitie, to haue familaritie with ſuche one as thou, whoſe wiſedome makes thée worthy to be a iudge of my counſels, and in thy fayth I may be bolde to repoſe the controllment of my life.

Laſtly, where thou aduiſedſt me to cõtinue ſuch one as I was before, with condition not to decline, I beléeue ỹ draweſt this warning from the example of Nero, whoſe gouernement being wel ordered for the firſt fiue yeres of his reigne, he grewe afterwards to increaſe more in wickednelle then in dignitie. But rather then thou ſhalt finde me ſucceſſour to the impudencies and vilenelle of Nero, I pray thée pray to GOD to giue me no ſufferaunce to reigne in Rome, ſince that tyrants procure dignities to exerciſe crueltie, and good men aſpire to kingdomes to the ende to mainteine vertue. And therefore to ſuche as were good afore, and are corrupt by the place, there is more cauſe of pitie then malice: for that if Fortune rayſe them, it is not to honour them, but to make them fall. And to wiſemen the miſerie of vnfortunate men is an example, to warne others to kéep a meane in their happie eſtate,

By the miſerie of vnfortunate men others are warned to take heede.

The Emperour Traiane writing to the Senate of Rome, diſcloſeth the trauels of Princes in their gouernements.

IT is not vnknowen to vs that death hath called from you your deare Lord and emperour, and my late predecessour, whom if you lament as in ẏ losse of a iust prince I haue no lesse reason of sorrowe for the want of a father so graue and pitifull. When children lose a good father, and a whole commonaltie a iust and vertuous prince, there can be no sorrowe more intollerable, or that worldly men can not suffer losses of more heauie importance: (since good princes are the same to cõmon weales, that God is to sinners, who, though we forget to loue and obey him, yet he forbeares not to protect and prouide for vs.) The death of a good man deserues to be sorrowed of al, but the losse of a iust prince ought to be extreamely and bitterly lamented: for that when a priuate man dyeth, there is losse but of one, but when a good prince is taken away, there dyeth with him the felicitie of a whole kingdome: so that, if God woulde suffer vs to sell the liues of good princes alreadie dead, the price sure woulde be to base to buy them againe with teares, since, euen with the most precious golde and siluer, can not be weighed downe the price and raunsome of a vertuous a man. If treasure would haue redeemed the life of Hector, the Troyans would haue furnished it in great aboundance: or if money might eftsoones haue breathed life into Hanibal, there would haue bene found no want in the Carthaginiens. But God, hauing made all mortall thinges, hath authoritie to dispose them euen by the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing, reseruing onely to him selfe immortalitie. Howe reuerent is the vertue of good men, and with what prerogatiues they are indued, appeareth easily in this, that mẽ beare more honour to the sepulchres of the vertuous, then to the emboasted palaces of the wicked. The good and vertuous man, thoughe he bee farre absent and out of vse and knowledge, yet men loue him, serue him, and aunswere for him: where, to the wicked is giuen no credite in that he saith, and muche lesse are we thankfull to him in that he doth for vs.

Princes to cõmon weales are the same that God is to sinners.

God hath authorite to dispose al things by the same power wherewith he created them of nothing.

For,

For, to the euill man is appointed this propertie of iustice, to be doubted most where he would fayneſt haue credit, and not to be beleeued though he ſpeake the truth. Touching my election to the empire, as it was left by my predeceſſour, demaunded of the people, and approued by you, ſo I doubt not but my gouernement will be ſo much the more plauſible and profitable to Rome, by howe much in my adoption were fulfilled all things agreeable to God. And as it ſerues for little, for men to chooſe princes, if they be not confirmed by God: ſo, there be certeine ſignes to diſcerne ſuche as are called by God, from others choſen by men. For, that which man by ſouden counſel aduaunceth, GOD by due iuſtice bringes downe: where thoſe things which the mightie God planteth, albeit they ſtande open to all windes and receiue many aduerſities, yet they neuer fall: yea, though they incline and bende, there is no power to remoue them. You knowe that albeit I was nephue to our predeceſſour, yet I neuer ſolicited him for the kingdome, and muche leſſe occupied my thoughtes to hope for it, hauing learned of my maiſter Plutarche, that honour ought rather to be deſerued then purchaſed. And as I will not denie but that a kingdome is a ſweete pray, and that the preſent of ſo high and excellent a dignitie was welcome to me with inwarde gladneſſe: ſo alſo I can not but confeſſe that I finde great difference betweene the trauelles of a kingdome, and the ſecuritie of a priuate lyfe: yea, after I had taſted of what bitter cares this ſweete pray is compounded, I was ſorie my weakneſſe was ſo ſone inticed, though it be to late to repent. For, of ſuch qualitie is imperie and gouernement, that if there be great honour to haue it, there is no leſſe paine and trauell to weelde it. Oh, to howe many perplexities ſtandes the ſubiect, who bindes him ſelfe to gouerne others: For that, if he be iuſt, they will call him cruell: if he be pitifull, they will deſpiſe him: if he be liberall, they will holde him prodigall: if he be a huſbande of that he hath, they will ſay he is couetous: if he be peaceable, they will eſteeme him a cowarde: if he be couragious, they will impute it to quarelling: if he be graue, they will

Due iuſtice for a wicked man.

Princes ſubiect to many perplexities.

note him proude: if he be affable, they wil ascribe it to lightnesse and simplicitie: if he be solitarie, they will iudge him an hypocrite: and if he be merrie, they wil say he is dissolute. So that men most commonly wil vse more respect towardes all others, then towardes him that gouerneth the whole. For, to the Prince they account the morselles that he eateth, they measure his pases, they espye his wordes, they obserue what companie he keepeth, they iudge his workes, they are iealous ouer his lokes and gestures: yea, they examine and murmur at his pastimes, and make coniecture euen of his secrete thoughtes. Who then weigheth with the trauelles that breede in principalitie, the iealousies that stande as espialles ouer suche as gouerne: will confesse (I doubt not) that as there is no state more sure then that that is diuided from empire and rule: so, gouernement being none other then the forge of enuie, the best cure and remedie is to forbeare to be absolute, and liue contented with an estate priuate: for, if a man can not but with great paine gouerne a wife, whome he hath chosen: trayne vp his children whom he hath begotten: and instruct his seruaunt, whom he hath hyred hauing them all in his house: farre greater payne shal he finde to enterteine in one peace and vnitie, a whole common weale diuided in to strange dispositions. Sure the life of Princes deserueth great compassion, for that in fewe can they repose or trust, seeing oftentimes they are most betrayed by those whome they most fauour: they can not eate without watching, sleepe wout guarde, speake without iealousie, nor go without espiall: so that being lordes ouer all, yet they are prisoners euen to their proper vassals: yea, if we consider the seruitude of princes, and the libertie of subiects, we shal finde that in whome the kingdome hath most action, euen against him seruitude hath most power, so that though Princes haue authoritie to giue libertie to others, yet their place will not suffer them to minister it to them selues. God hauing created vs free, we do so delight to haue our libertie free, that how neare so euer a man touch vs, either in friendship, kinred, or bloud, yet we had rather he were our vassall, then our

Perplexities of Princes.

our Lord: for that, as libertie is as deare to vs as bloud and life: so all seruitude is miserable, according to the desire of Cæsar, who, in respect his souldiers were made free, wished himselfe despised and worthy nothing. We esteeme our selues so much, and follow our desires with such partiall affection, that as we shall neuer see any man who of his proper will, wil be made bonde, so, we haue not read of any that against his will was made Lord. For, the heart without libertie takes pleasure in nothing, as well appeareth in the controuersies of men, whose warres we see are not so much for the quarell of obedience, as to establish their authoritie to commaund. In eating, in drinking, in speaking, in garmentes, in gestures, and in all other actions and affections men be different, sauing in the desire of libertie, wherein they are al conformable. All this I haue written vppon the occasion of mine Empire, whiche being so vniuersally offered, I haue thankfully accepted, though many times I finde wearinesse in so great a burthen. For, a large sea, and a great kingdome are two thinges pleasaunt to behold, and most perilous to proue: notwithstanding, since by the will of God I am appointed your Lord, and by your proper consentes you are made my vassals: I require to be obeyed as Lord in things that are iust, and pray you as fathers to aduertise me when I doe thinges vnreasonable: assuring you, that if you fulfill the office of good counsellers, you shall finde in me that readie conformitie, that belonges to the action of the common weale: on whose behalfe, I recommend vnto you the prouidence of the common treasure, aswell to consider by what meanes it is got, with what fuertie it is kept, as also to what vses it is transferred and employed. For the goods of the common weale are not committed to your confidence, to the end to enioy them, but because you might gouerne them.

And albeit the warres of Germanie being like yet to be prolonged, for that the king of Dacia continueth in his reuolt from the obedience of Rome, I shall be yet dziuen to follow the occasion of the warres: yet in this absence, I cannot be vnmindfull of the affaires of the state, as holding it lesse euil

for a prince to be negligent in the procedings of warre, then careleſſe of the buſines concerning the gouernement of the common weale. For, a good prince ought to thinke, that he is not choſen ſo much to follow the warres, as to gouerne ciuilly: not ſo much to kill his enumies abroad, as to ſupplant vices at home: not ſo much to follow forreine affaires, as to keepe reſort and reſidence amongſt his ſubiects: not to take the goods of others, but to doe iuſtice to euery one: not to pardon the rich, in reſpecte of his wealth, nor to denie iuſtice to the poore for his pouertie: not to giue rewards altogether for affection, nor to miniſter chaſtiſement by paſſion onely: and not to denie iuſtice to him that demaundes it, nor to ſhewe mercie but where it is deſerued: ſince, whyleſt a prince in the warres cannot fighte but for one and in his owne perſon, in the common weale his abſence giues libertie to many inſolencies done to many innocentes. Sure, it is a iuſt reward of vertue, that of capteines men come to be Emperours: but there is no conueniencie that Emperours deſcend to be Capteines, for that in that realme is ſeldome ſtabilitie of peace and quiet, whoſe prince is too much inclined to warres and enterpriſes. By theſe I pray you beleeue that if the warres of Germanie had not begon whileſt I was in theſe partes, I had not made my ſelfe a partie to them, hauing alwayes this principall purpoſe to be reputed rather a ciuil gouernour then a follower of armes. I recommend to you chiefly the honour of God, and eſtabliſhment of the church: for that, that king cannot liue in ſuertie, who prouids not to haue God honoured and the miniſterie mainteined. Let princes feare God, enterteine iuſtice, reuerence the miniſters of the Church, and defende the poore: ſo ſhall they be perfect men, and pleaſing to God, who for recompence, will not ſuffer them to be forgotten of their friendes, nor vanquiſhed of their enimies. I wiſh you alſo to communicate together in one friendſhip and fraternitie: for that, in common weales greater are the harmes that riſe by ciuil factions of one neighbour againſt an other, then by the furie of forreine and publique enimies. I wiſh you to cut off all occaſions of

quarels,

quarels, to be cherishers of the poore, preseruers of the fatherlesse, and protectors of the widowes: for that, to none is God wont to minister more sharp iustice, then to such as refraine cõpassion to the poore, & suffer the innocent to receiue oppression. And, because vertue consistes more in woorkes, then in woords, I exhort you to vse modestie in speech, to be patient to suffer, & prouident in your forme of liuing. For, it cannot but bring great fault and shame to a gouernour, to giue praises to the people of his common weale, & in himselfe beare iust occasion of reprehension: and therefore, to such as manage estates & gouernments, it apperteines to haue more confidence in their woorkes then in their woords: for that the common people is more inclined to iudge of that which they see, then to beleeue thinges which they heare. In affaires cõcerning the Senate, I would not haue any of you noted of ambition, malice, fraud, nor enuie: for that, to men of honor, truth and vertue, it is vnseemely to contend more for ỳ soueraignitie and commandement of a common weale, then for ỳ aduancement and profite of it. The Empire of the Greekes, hath beene alwayes contrary to the gouernement of the Romanes, aswell in armes and lawes, as in opinions: for, the Greekes had a singular felicitie in eloquent speaking, & to them hath belonged ỳ propertie of wel woorking. By this I exhort you being assembled in ỳ Senate, that you bestow not more time to dispute and argue of controuersies, then necessarily apperteines to the true search & decision of the same: since, if you will not intangle your iudgements with passion and affections, you shall (without long argument) be easily leed to reason and conclusion. In this respect, many wise men haue thought it more expedient, that kings and Emperors should suffer themselues to be gouerned by men learned, then to be learned themselues: forbidding them thereby to leane to their proper opinions, of the which for the most part they ought to be suspicious. Let your Iudges, & such as sit in office to solicite the affaires of ỳ common weale, be wise men, skilfull in lawes, expert in customes, discrete in thinges they haue to iudge, and circumspecte in their conuersation and

forme

forme of life. For, in instruction of life and manners, more good doth the iudge with his good example, then with his seuere punishment: and to the wel gouernement of a common weale, more conducible and necessary is the wise man, then he that is too well learned. Therefore in causes of iustice and iudgement, haue regard to minister the Lawes in ciuil processes, and in matters criminall it is good to moderate their rigor: for that, in the creation of seuere and cruell Lawes, the chiefe purpose was rather to keepe men in terror, then to haue the Lawes committed to extreme action: so that afore the publication of your sentence, you ought to consider the age of the offender, the time, the manner, the occasion, the confederacie, and the value of the offence, in all which circumstances may be helpes, though not to acquite the trespasse, yet to qualifie the rigor of the lawe: in the administration and office whereof, we ought to deale in the same rate and measure of mercie towards offenders, which God vseth with sinners, on whom he exerciseth compassion aboue their deserts, and punisheth them vnder the merite of their transgressions. And as in criminall offences Iudges ought to thincke that God is more offended then men: so, if it please him to remitt faultes done against his maiestie, it is a good example to warne vs, not to execute the Lawes extremely against those that offend others and not vs. Lastly, I wishe you (in cases of quarel and wrong) that if your enimies doe you any iniurie, you will forbeare present reuenge. For that, to pardon many for the offence of one, holdes of the office of Christianitie: but to chastice many for ỳ fault of one, apperteines properly to tyrantes: yea, though in mans nature the despight of an iniurie increaseth the desire of reuenge: yet, there be wrongs wherin oftentimes men finde more suertie to dissemble them, then to reuenge them.

The Senate

¶ The Senate of Rome writeth to Traiane their Emperour, partly to aunswere to some particulars of his former letters: and withal expressing documentes necessarie to the instruction of a Prince.

RIght Soueraigne and worthie Emperour, such was the compassion and regarde of thy late vncle and predecessor Nerua towards thee, that in ỹ very article and extreme approch of death, he made no sorrowe for that his children were dead, which might haue inherited his possessions: but gaue thankes to God for leauing thee to succeede him in the Empire. So that albeit to the good Emperour were successors other then thou, both more deare in friendship, more bound in seruice, and better experienced in policie and warres: yet he vouchsafed to fixe his eye vppon thee onely, as in whom he had most opinion and confidence, that thou wouldest effsones reuiue the vertues and valour of the good Augustus, and rote out the insolencies and tyrannies of Domitian. When thy vncle toke possession of the Empire, he found the treasure dispersed, the Senate in faction, the people in mutinie, iustice ill obserued, and the common weale in generall ruine: but thou shalt come to great plentie of riches, the Counsell voyde of dissention, the multitude ignorant in commotions, the Iudges without corruption, and the whole state peaceable, reformed and flourishing: beseeching thee, with the maiestie of so large an Empire, to succeede also thy vncle in custome and constitutions, seeing that newe princes vnder colour to innouate newe lawes, do for the most part committe their common weales to perdition. Like as the fourteene princes that haue managed the Empire nert afore thee, were al naturally of Rome, and thou the first straunger adopted to the kingdome: euen so we beseech the immortall God, that as in thine vncle, our auncient Cæsars haue taken ende, so also with thee may be

brought

brought good fortune to Rome, wherein we hope so much the more, by how much thy vertues more then thy policie, made thee worthie of the Empire. For that where vertue is the meane to procure honor, there God never fayles to establish the place, and takes from fortune all power to minister aduersities to it. Where, by thy letter thou giuest vs instructions what to doe, we are bold also to aduertise thee what thou oughtest to foresee. And seeing thou teachest vs how to obey thee, it is good equitie & iustice that we know ỹ things wherein thou wilt commaund vs: for that, (by the occasion of the warrs) hauing beene long disacquainted with the maners of Rome, & not knowing to what lawes and customes we are sworn: thou mayst perhaps decree things to our damage and thine owne dishonor, wherein (according to thy wisedome) we hope thou wilt not hold it vnreasonable to be aduertised: for that princes oftentimes are negligent in many thinges, not so much for that they haue no desire to foresee, as because there are none that dare warne them. And therefore we beseech thee turne not that to presumption which we present to thee of iust duetie and office, assuring thee that the affections of subiects are more drawne by a gratious industrie, then by compulsion or force. We beseech thee, that al those cõmaundements which thou sendest from the campe, with all such other orders as we establish here, may be seuerely and firmely kept, since the benefite of lawes consistes not to erect and ordeine, but in the due and iust execution of them. Thou must not forget to haue patience to suffer such as are importunate, and dissemble with offenders: seeing it is a propertie duely annexed to a good prince, to punish the iniuries of the common weale, and pardon the insolencies done against himselfe. And as it belonges to a good prince, to haue more regard to the benefite of his countrie, then to the delightes of his person: so, where thou writest ỹ thou wilt not see Rome till thou hast giuen end to the warres of Germanie we cannot but hold it a determination of a noble and valiant Emperour: for that such good princes as thou art, ought not to seeke out places for their recreation, but follow exercises to increase

Where vertue doth raise to honour, there God failes not to establish the dignitie.

There is no benefite by lawes if they be not executed.

increase their reputation. Thou recommendest to vs the veneration of the temples and seruice of God: we beseech thee let that be an office iust and equall to thee also: since, our seruice to God can be a sacrifice but of smal importance, if with all thou makest it not perfect with the offer of the humilitie, obedience, and consent of thy heart. According to thy counsel, that we hold friendship and communitie one with an other, we finde it a charge of very hard action, if in thee be not also accomplished an equall and generall affection to vs all: for that, by ỹ parcialitie of princes embraceing some more then the rest, are oftentimes raised factions and murmurs amongst the people. Touching the releefe of the poore and protection of widowes, we cannot fully performe our deuotion that way, vnlesse thou commaund such as leuie thy tributes to forbeare to molest them when they gather thy rightes: for, greater is the sinne to pill and oppresse the poore, then the merit to succour and ayde them. Thou warnest vs that wee be not tedious in the Senate, nor affectioned to our proper opinions: which, being a counsell of great grauitie, is also accepted in duetie and good meaning, desiring thy wisedome to consider withall, that in businesses of great difficultie, the more seriously matters are debated, the more truly are they resolued, and their inconueniences auoyded. If (according to ỹ aduertisement of thy letter) thou wilt haue thy Iudges honest in life and iust in their office, thou must take hēd that in such as thou chooselt there be no occasion or necessitie of reprehēsion. Touching thy aduice, ỹ we restreine our children to such education, that they bring no slaunder to ỹ common weale: it behoues thee especially to let them be called from time to time to the necessitie and seruice of the warres: for that, as there is nothing that brings so easie and sweet a subiection to vice, as the season and idlenesse of peace: so, there is no better meane to purge a common weale of loytering & vnprofitable people, then to haue warres with forreine enimies. We wil not repeate thy other aduertisemēts, but studie to keepe them, esteeming them rather Lawes of a diuine spirite, then counsels of a mortall man.

Of the

¶ Of the great reuerence giuen in times past to auncient men, with certeine priuileges apperteyning to old age.

Lycurgus, and almost all the other Lawe-readers of the world, albeit in many things they were different, yet they had ful concord and agreement in these three. To honour God, to owe compassion to the poore, and to beare a reuerence to old men. It seemes that these customes haue had from the beginning an assured consent and affinitie with nature, for that there hath beene no nation of such barbarous rudenesse, nor any people so intractable, whiche haue forbidden ỹ seruice of their Gods, restrayned succours to the poore, or withholden reuerence from old age: for that they be thinges so reasonable and iust, that according to naturall right and equitie, there is no necessitie of lawes to ordeine them, nor authoritie of kinges to commaund them. Eschines the Philosopher in an oration he made to the Rhodiens, commended the gouernment of the Islandmen in that their policie suffered but these seuen Lawes, To worship their gods, to be pitifull to the poore, to beare honour to the auncients, to obey their princes, to resist tyrantes, to execute theeues and robbers, and to suffer no man to wander out of his proper countrie. And Aulus Gellius reading statutes to the auncient Romanes, will not haue so much honour borne to the most richmen and chiefe of the Senate, as to old men reteyning alwayes one constant and settled grauitie. In these testimonies is good experience and proofe, that to the old men in ages past, were borne such honourable respectes, that as Gods they were reuerenced, and holden in the place and reputation of fathers, according to the Lawe which the Romanes toke of the Lacedæmonians, that to auncient men onely, and to no others should be committed the charge of iustice, and administration of the common weale. But speaking in the opinion of a Christian, albeit to al old age is due a reuc-

a reuerence in respect of their maioritie, yet in such is it most worthily inuested, in whose grauitie is expressed good example to others, and whose vertue brings honour to their yeres, in whom it is a iust dutie to be diuided from vain fancies & cares & reduce their deliberations to cõmendable actions: for that, as the moste part of our time passeth away in thinking from one day to another to giue reformation to our life, so, let vs be warned, that the winges of olde age being plumed with the fethers of death, we shall finde it to late to learne to liue when we are at point to die: and therefore all men ought to examine in themselues howe many dere seasons they haue past, what perils they haue escaped, how many friendes they haue lost, and from what perplexities they haue bene deliuered, accompting it not to their owne merite that God hath taken them out of so many dangers, but to the end they shoulde haue further time to amend their life. A man to liue sound and without diseases, the regiment of physick with our owne good gouernment, are muche helping: but the stroke of death whether it come early or late, that dependes more on the power and hande of God, then on the will or disposition of men. Therefore let all men be moderate in their exercise, and vse temperance in their vniuersall actions, making more estimation of ther wisedome then of their olde age: since otherwayes, if they forget not to reckon their yeares, others will not forbeare to kæpe account of their vices. Many learned men haue proued by many reasons, that olde age is profitable, and that the life of auncient men is good: but God giue them better quiet and tranquillitie, then that their opinions haue any societie with either experience or reason. For, now a days where is ỹ retraite of infirmities, but in an aged bodie? Or in what consistes the miserie of mans life, but in the passions of age? whereunto is appointed no other cure but sufferance in paine, and griefe without hope: olde age being none other thing then a disease without remedie, and a sickne incureable. But comming now to exhibite some priuileges and liberties which old men enioy, I meane not to medle with ỹ

complexions and qualities of those, whose wisedome agreeth with their age, and their yeares conformable to their graue discretion: and much lesse to giue libertie to my pen to contest against any of those graue, honorable, and vertuous auncients, by whose direction cõmon weales haue bene gouerned, and in their wisdome yong men haue found suretie of counsell: but to set downe some customes of olde men that be wanderers, waspish, babblers, scoffers, players, dissemblers, and suche as are lead by amarous humors, together with what familiar maners their sorrowfull old age is accompanied, I holde it neither against reason nor honestie.

It is a custome to old men to haue a short sight, their eyes yeelding double iudgement, comprehending two things for one, and oftentimes to haue cloudes in their eyes when there is none in the skie, by meanes whereof for the moste part they misknow their friend and take him for another. It is a custome to old men to be thick of hearing, by meanes whereof, such thinges as they heare and do not well vnderstand, they thinke is either spoken to the preiudice of their honour, or detriment of their goods. It is familiar with olde men to haue their haires fall without combing, wrinckles growing and no seede sowen, and their heade fuming without any fire made, for remedie whereof when they woulde take the bath, it is forbidden them by reason of their weaknes. Old men haue this priuilege to eat bread without cruste for the ease of their teeth, to haue their meat minsed for the helpe of digestion, to haue their drinke warmed for the comfort of their stomache, and in case of infirmities in their legges, they haue their oyles to souple them, their rollers to wrap them, their hoase at libertie and their buskins buckled: and if any grudge at this brauerie, they haue to answere, that it is done more for the ease of the disease that troubleth them, then for any glory they reappose in such attire. It is a custome with old men, to inquire after the disposition of the wether, wherein they haue greate sense and iudgement by the motion of their infirmities, whose humors following the reuolution of the mone, and change and

distemper of the ayre, bring the poore olde man to be halfe a physician, and to haue a painful science in Astronomie. It is a custome with olde men to complaine muche of the trauels of the day, and to keepe reckoning of the houres of the night, that their dinner is not resolued into digestion, and their supper would not suffer them to sleepe: and yet, it is no sooner day then they begin to murmur that their breakefast is not readie. It is a priuilege to olde men to search companie, and either in temple, tauerne, or shoppes they enterteyne al that come, inquiring of the newes of the worlde: and whatsoeuer they heare, be it true or false, they will not onely beleeue it for true, and add to it somewhat of their owne. It is familiar to olde men to be suspicious, distrustfull, obstinate, intractable, and subiect to selfe opinion: by meanes whereof they lacke reason, and liue in error, and though they are not abused, yet they will be ielouse of their owne shadowe, yea suche men haue rather want of any other thing, then of suspicion. It is a custome with olde men, once a moneth to be lockt vp in their closett and count their treasure, diuiding their coynes, and searching the lockes of their chestes: such men wil not diminish one denaire of that that is heaped vp, but loue to liue poorely to the ende they may die rich. To some old men it is a custome to haue familiaritie with physicians, and friendship with Apothecaries: but some delight more to haunt tauernes where is vent of good vine, then in the conference of learned men by whom is ministred wholesome regiments of health. It belonges much to olde men to be fickle in all thinges, but specially to be inconstant against the time, commending muche the ages past, and complayning more of the season present: which for the most part they do more of custome then by any reason, and rather by authoritie, then for necessitie. It is due to olde men to wrap and cherish themselues, to haue their chamber hanged, their fire ordinarie, their bed warmed, and yet for the most part, they spend the nights in coughing, and the dayes in complaintes, making their bed a place to debate the actions of their youth past, and to feele the infirmities and weakenes of their present age: the memorie of which thinges makes them often-

times so ill contented, that they are careless to prouide for death which they se euen afore their eyes. And it is one common propertie with old men, to be angrie with such as inquire of their age, and most familiar with those that will tell of the pleasures they haue past. So that, they woulde be honoured by reason of their age, & yet they are grieued when they heare a reckoning of their yeres, and so old men delight in authoritie, and yet wish their age might be concealed.

To a noble personage touching the difference betweene the friendship of men, and loue of God.

THe greate Philosopher Eschines, in a famous inuective against his mortal enimie Demosthenes vseth these wordes: It belõgeth to thée Demosthenes, according to the estimation which thou makest of thy wisedome, to be resolute in thy enterprises, true in thy promises, well aduised in thy counsels, and righteous in all that thou doest: all which fall out contrarie in thy behauiour and actions, for that oftentimes thou art séene to doe thinges which thou oughtest not, and no lesse often art heard to speake that which thou thinkest not. These wordes spoken by the philosopher, to the reproch of his enimie, deserue to be applied to all men, for that there are none that can worthily challenge the true merite and imputation of wise men, if they expresse not as greate modestie in their speache, as equitie in their workes. It is a iust thing that euery one take hæde to that he doth, and be well aduised in what he saith, since amongest noble mindes more easily is satisfied an actuall wrong done against their persons, then an iniurious word vttered to the preiudice of their honour, alwaies estéming that the blowe of a sword hurtes but the flesh, but a worde suggested to infamie offendeth the reputation. This I say (Syr) vppon the occasion of your letter, charging me eftsones to repeat my late discourse vttered in the presence of the Emperour vpon

on this theame, That it is very hurtful to haue Christ to our enimie, & a thing no lesse dangerous to haue man our friend. If, in your opinion, I speak any thing which was not well studied and considered vppon, you do wrong to the grauitie of my profession, since it is my custome neuer to pronounce wordes of suche diuine and high subiect, but euen with the same attention and deuotion wherewith I would confesse my selfe to God, accompting it withall to too greate a fault, to publish any thing which might breede scrupul in your Lordship, or murmur in so excellent an auditorie.

But nowe to our purpose, wherein I confirme ettsones, that if it be euill to haue the creator to our enimie, it can not be lesse daungerous to haue to our friend the creature. And if there be no necessitie to employ the physician and our friend but in times daungerous and doubtful, it can not but be to men a most assured counsell rather to eschue perils, then to intreate friends: since friends being of the worlde, their friendship hath also his corruption of the worlde, in whome is more confusion then continuance of thinges. I do not say it is euill to haue friendes, but that it is daungerous and painefull: for that the mightier thy friende is of estate, by so much is thy daunger the greater to prone him, and thy care no lesse to obserue and keepe him, seing specially great friendship is not knowne but in extreame necessitie. Many and many are there now a dayes who would absteine from many heynous and hurtfull faultes, if they had not confidence in the fauour and rescue of their friends, whiche being a braunch of impunitie, can not but bring peril to a common weale, where the due course & sinceritie of iustice is stopped by the corruption of particular fauour. This is one manner of election of friendes amongest men, that meeting by chaunce, or cõmoning together, or eating at one table, they suppose from the instant a perpetuall friendshippe to be established betweene them, which in good certeintie & truth can not be so, for that in times of necessitie and triall, there is no more prose or effect of such friends, then betweene the crowe and the kyte, of whome when it hapneth to the

It is daungerous to haue great friendes.

one to be bare of fethers, the other answereth that to him is no more then sufficeth him to flie. That which one friend doth for an other in these times, is, eyther to excuse or conceale himselfe when there is neede of him, being more ready to lend him his conscience, then his money, that is eyther to go with him to the reuenge of an enimie, or to perfourme some exployt of vice, or at least to serue his turne with some false testimonie. Which sort of friendes, as they are moste common and least rare, so let all men esteeme it no small felicitie to be diuided from them, seeing they are more prodigall of their conscience then liberall of their goods. Who weigheth with the number of friendes that are professed to him, how many haue ministred the true office and qualitie of friendes to giue succours to his necessities, for one that he hath founde faythfull, I doubt not but he shall be able to disclose an hundreth dissemblers: In which respect, I sayde not without great reason, that it was greate peril to a man not to be consociate with a friende honest, firme, and vertuous, since, for no greater cause then the action of a common reuerence and ciuilitie, they are readie to require our goods to loane, commaund the vse and seruice of our house, and not sticke to bring our conscience in doubt: (occasions that many times moue men to disclaime neighbourhodes and frendships which they had begone in great good wil and deuotion.) But right blessed and holy is the friendshippe of Jesus Christe, wherein can be no scrupul nor daunger. For that, in recompence of the affection he beares vs, he neither demaundes our goods, nor troubleth our conscience: his friendship is alwayes assured, for that it is wel established: it is certeine, since he neuer forgets vs: it is not feigned, since it correctes our conscience: it is iust, for that it sufferreth nothing vnreasonable: it is righteous, since in it hee doth communicate to vs his grace: and it is moste riche and plentifull, as by whose meane he giues vs his glory. So that he onely may and ought to be called a friend holy, a friende iust, faithfull, profitable, and perpetuall: for that the friends that he takes, he loketh not if they be riche, and much lesse e-

steemes

seemes it to dishonor if they be poore, he choseth for his frend whome he liketh, and after he hath once called him, he neuer forbeareth to loue and like him: he loketh not whether he be mightie or impotent, faire or deformed, or whither his condition be free or bonde: No, he makes not so great reckoning of the seruices we doe him, as of the loue which we beare to him: *In charitate perpetua dilexi te:* The loue (saith Jesus Christ by his prophete) wherewith Christ loueth vs, is not feined nor transitorie, but reteineth allways one perpetuall and setled stabilitie: as appeareth most truly in this, that by the meane of his grace we are made agreeable to him afore we are able to doe any thing to deserue to be his friends. Such is the perpetual perfection of his charitie, that the loue that he beares vs being his owne, the profite that comes of it apperteins to vs, pretending no other thing in ỹ loue which he beares to all creatures then to make seene his soueregne bountie, employed on our behalfes in most high and worthie charitie: the same being well expressed in the day of his passion, when neither the tormentes of his bodie, nor the wickednesse of his people, coulde restreine the course of his great loue, wherewith he prayed for suche as crucified him, and pardoned those that offended him: yea, he prayed not onely for his Apostles and disciples, but also for all the faythfull that beleeued in him and loued his father, with whome as he was one selfe thing in diuinitie, so he prayed to his father, that all suche as beleeued, might be in him one body mysticall through charitie. Greate was the loue of Jesus Christe in the wordes of his petition to his father, seeing that albeit we were not then borne, no nor our farre auncient fathers: yet he besought his father in greate feruencie for the estate of all his church, euen no lesse then for those that did communicate with him in the supper. So that as he dyed for all, so he prayed for all. By whiche we haue good reason to beleeue, that seeing he remembred vs afore we came into the worlde, he will also keepe care ouer such as are employed in his seruice. If Christe had not loued vs with that charitie, and prayed for vs in suche fer-

uencie of zeale, what had becomme of vs: sure, if there be in the church of God at this present any obedience, or patience, charitie, humilitie, or any abstinence or continencie, it ought all to be attributed to that loue which Christe expressed in the prayer that he commended to his father for vs, redeeming with his bloud our disfauour, and with his prayer he restored vs eftsones to an estate of grace and reconcilement. To loue those that are present, and such as are absent, to beare affection to the quicke, and remember suche as are dead, happeneth often: is naturall, but to loue suche as are to come and not yet borne, is a zeale that neuer was heard of but in the person of our redeemer, who prayeth for such as liue wickedly, and loueth good men although they are not yet borne. In worldly thinges, so streight is the copulation and vnitie betweene life and death, loue and hate, him that doth affect and the thing affected, that all takes end together and in one houre: but to the friendship that Iesus Christe beares vs, belonges an other qualitie, for that his loue toke beginning afore the foundation of the worlde, and will not end, no not at the day of iudgment.

In this Letter is debated the difference betweene a seruaunt and a friend.

FInding in your last Letter more matter worthie of rebuke, then meete to be answered, I am bolde to giue you this counsell, that in causes of importance, the penne is not to be vsed afore the matter be wel debated, lest others take occasion to iudge of your doinges, and your selfe be denied of that you demaunde. This is also to bee obserued, in speaking to any personage of estate, with whome we ought not to communicate but with feare, reuerence, and modestie.

By your letter you wishe me to be your maister, and withall woulde chose me to be your friende: two estates no

lesse

lesse different in qualitie, then incompatible in one person, and most vnlyke in office, for that a friende is chosen by will, and a maister is taken by necessitie: a friend will consider, but a maister muste be serued: a friende giues of liberalitie, but a Lord demaundes by authoritie: a maister hath libertie to be angrie, but it belonges to a friend to suffer: and a friende pardoneth, but a maister punisheth. So that the comparison being so different, it cannot be possible that being your maister, I shuld beare vnto you the due respects of a friende: since, if I be your maister, you are bounde to serue me, feare me, followe me, and obey me: offices preiudiciall to the prerogatiues of a friend, and against the lawes of ỹ libertie & free souereigntie which ỹ hart of man desireth.

A friend chosen by will, & a master taken by necessitie.

To require me with such rashnesse to be you friende, is (sure) to demaunde of me the moste precious iewell I haue in the worlde: for, to be your friende, is to binde me to loue you all my life, diuiding my heart into yours, and making you euen another moytie with my selfe, true friendship being none other thing then an vnfeigned consent of will and affections, and a transportation of two heartes into one bodie: and therefore two friends, if they will loue and liue in the true obseruations of friendship, ought to speake but with one tongue, and loue with one hearte, yea they ought to communicate together in one substance and rate of life, and not grudge to suffer in common one peculiar and singular death. Amongest frienides, what is suffered of the one, ought not to be intollerable to the other, and albeit their thoughtes be proper to themselues, yet their persons, their goodes and fortunes, ought alwayes to be common. One friende ought not to say to an other, I will not, or I cannot: since, it is a principall priuilege in friendship, to finde nothing impossible. Therefore, who ioynes in friendship with another, bindes himselfe not to denie the thing that he demaundes, nor to excuse in any thing that his friende requires him to doe: since in this consistes the full office of friendship to owe to our friends euen our selues and all that we haue. By the counsell of Seneca, the wise and discreete

Offices of a friend.

We owe to our friends al that we haue, onely wee ought to haue but one soule.

man ought to admitte but one friend, foreſéeing withall (as neare as he can) to haue no enimie at all: For, ſayth he, if there be daunger in enimies, there can be no ſuretie in the multitude of friendes, ſince, in reſpect of their number, they bréede difference of conſent and will with varietie of conditions, and where is no conformitie of maners, there can be no perfection in friendſhip. So ſtreight is the rule of friendſhip, that of many that profeſſe liberall affection, there are fewe that performe it, béeing an office particular to the children of vanitie, to haue readie tongues to promiſe and ſlowe handes to performe. True friendes are bounde to féele the aduerſities of their friendes with no leſſe affection then if they had proper intereſt in them: yea, it belonges to them to miniſter remedie to their neceſſities, and giue comfort to their miſeries, eſtéeming it to apperteine to their duetie to communicate in all the fortunes of their friendes: the ſame agréeing with the reſolution of Eſchines the philoſopher, who being aſked what was the greateſt perpleritie of this life, aunſwered, that to looſe thinges whiche we haue got with paine, and to be diuided from that which we loue, are the greateſt afflictions that can trauaile an humane minde. The friend whom we chooſe, ought aboue all other thinges to be diſcréete, to the ende he may counſell vs, and of abilitie and wealth, the better to adminiſter to our neceſſities and lackes: for otherwayes, if he beare no aduiſe and iudgement, we ſhall want counſell to gouerne our proſperitie, and if he be poore, what meane is there to ioyne ſuccours to our wants? By which imperfection our proſperitie ſtandes in hazard for want to be warned, and in aduerſitie we are ſubiect to deſpaire or murmur by the intollerable burden of our neceſſities, being no leſſe hurtfull to be rayſed to wealth and dignitie without a frend to inſtruct vs to gouerne it, then to be extreme poore, and haue no meane to relieue vs. Therfore amongſt men there is nothing more neceſſarie, then to be enuironed with friends, who in their preſence may aſſiſt them with good counſel, and in their abſence hold common faith and loyaltie. There be two things

The friend whome wee chooſe ought to be wiſe and wealthie.

that

that proue the malice of the worlde to be infinite, and therewithal warne al mē to seeke securitie in a wise and wel able frend. The first is, that to him that is ouerthrowne there are verie few that will lend their hand to help him vp againe: & to such as stand in wealth and fauour, euerie one studieth to cast stumbling blockes to make them fall. In which respect, that man is possest of no small treasure, who hath admitted societie with a wise and well aduised friend, whose qualitie ought to be such as to cōfort his friend with his eye, to counsell him with his speeche, to succour him with his goodes, to protect him with his power, and not onely to do his best to keepe him from falling, but if he be downe, to lend him his liberall hand to remount him. To the qualitie of our friende it apperteines to be discrete and secret, leaste his lightnesse make him intollerable to vs, and being lauish, hee can not but be troublesome to our affaires: and therefore as the bosome of our friend ought to be a place of retract for all our counsels, opinions, actions, and enterprises: so, in the election of him, if we first seeke not suretie of discretion & secrecie, let vs loke to lacke that we woulde, and suffer that we most feare, since true friendship to young men is a notable sobrietie, to olde men an infallible comfort, to the poore sufficient riches, and to the rich assured honour.

Two thinges that proue the malice of the world to be infinite.

A friend must be discrete & secrete.

Let no man disclose the secrets of his heart, but to suche as he loueth with all his heart: since it is one chiefe braunche of the office of a good friend to keepe that he heareth, and conceale what he seeth: and therewithall a rule moste infallible, that who speakes without discretion shall be answered with shame and confusion. A true friende ought neuer to flatter his friend, nor ioyne reproche to any pleasure he hath done for him, taking it for his recompence, that he hath done pleasure to him to whome he is bounde by the merit and lawe of true friendship. For, in case of dāunger and necessitie, there ought betweene friends to be no delay of succours, no, no remedie ought to be required where all thinges are due by iustice, nothing ought to be holden particular where all things deserue to be in common, nor no importunitie intollerable,

lerable, where ought to be no necessitie of request. It is not proper to all men to professe the qualitie of a friende: for that if they haue power, they may want disposition: if they haue counsel, they may haue weakenes of action: and if they haue mindes to loue, yet they may be subiect to the error of inconstancie: so that in case of friendship men can haue no such full perfection, but that in some respect they suffer infirmitie either by person or qualitie. And so if you weigh the office of a friend with the inconueniences annexed, and consider the state of a Lorde with the seruices apperteyning, I hope you will neither reteine me for a maister, nor chose me for a friende, since for the one I am vnable, and to the other vnapt.

A letter to a noble personage, wherein is debated why God afflictes good men.

ALbeit I haue had small meane hitherto, to declare my good affection to you wardes, and lesse expectation of greate thinges in so poore a state as mine: yet hath there not wanted good will to wishe well with the best, and so wishing, as with effect I might expresse it, and leaue you satisfied of my good meaning, neither to merit the more nor to aduaunce the sooner, but onely for the due respects I owe to your greatnes and vertues, by whose aide I confesse I haue aspired to the successe and end of all my desires. And where my profession keepes me so restreined, that to your many benefites I can giue no equal recompence, I am glad that by the request of your letters is ministred occasion to declare with what deuotion I wish to do you seruice: praying you to esteeme me, not as I am, but as I desire to be on your behalfe.

You demaund by your letter why God suffereth so many aduersities to afflict good men? Whereunto I answere, that to the man of vertue nothing can happen in ill, since according

rording to the opinion of Philosophers, contraries can hold no consent nor vnitie together: for, aduersities, albeit they haue custome to vexe and trouble men, yet, they haue no power to chaunge the constancie and courage of a valliant and resolute minde, who in all reuolutions reteines one firme & immouable vertue: euen as a tree which being well rooted although he be shaken with many violent winds, yet in their furie is no power to supplant him. Men, through exercise of aduersities become humble, wise, and perfect, and the iust man is better reformed by the prowfe of afflictions, then by any other meane. For, knowing them to bee messingers and warninges of God, he debates not the griefes he feeleth, but calleth his conscience to reckoning, he glorifieth him selfe in tribulation, knowing that tribulations bring patience, patience breedes experience, experience rayseth hope, and hope can not be confounded, for that the loue of God is dispersed into our hartes by the holy spirite that hath bene giuen to vs: he suffereth his sorrowes, but in the end he surmountes them, and is not ouercome by their violence, shewing then his owne greatnesse, and with what vertues he is inuironed, when he proueth what force his patience is of: he taketh all thinges for exercise of his vertue, since vertue without aduersitie withereth and loseth his force. A noble mind ought not to feare hard and doubtfull thinges, nor complaine of any perplexitie he endureth: for, hauing true magnanimitie, he ought to take all thinges in good part, and hold no fortune grieuous. Let him not debate what he suffereth, but determine to endur to the end, since God neuer proueth his people aboue thei. power, nor vseth to visite their frayltie otherwayes thei with a shaking rod, which rather threateneth then striketh: yea it is one custome in Gods affliction to correct those children whom he receiueth and loueth, to the end they may atteine to a true strength, faith, and perfection, not suffering the extremitie of his iustice to tempt them to murmur or despaire, but mildly to prepare them, hauing appointed to the godly no other passage to heauen but through the fornace

Benefites comming by tribulation.

True magnanimitie beareth all fortunes.

nace and fire of afflictions. Creatures that be fat and heauie for want of exercise, become vnapt and idle, they are not tried by labour onely, but withall through custome of ease and rest, and by the heauie weight of their owne bodies: euen so, that felicitie that hath suffered no communitie with misfortunes, can haue no great continuance: but when it hath kept long warres with his incommodities, and by suffering iniuries is made hard, then is he in his perfection, and armed to resist all harmes, God suffering his people sometimes to encounter very rude and hard aduentures, the better to prepare them to a true iudgement and examination of themselues. We haue no greate neede to exercise mercie to a good man, for that though in apparance his estate seeme needie, yet his vertue makes him no way miserable.

No man is miserable, but he that esteemes himselfe so.

No, no man is vnhappy but he that esteemes himselfe so by the base reputation of his courage. Demetrius was of opinion, that there was no man vnhappie but he to whom aduersitie neuer hapened. And as vertue and wisedome are hid oftentimes in those persons, whome eyther malice pursueth, enuie oppresseth, or fortune contemneth: so, for the most part, God suffereth aduersities to exercise their force against such as are moste strong, not to tempt them aboue their power, but, through exercise to make them better established. Fortune proued the force of fire in Scæuola, the violence of pouertie in Fabricius, the perplexities of banishment in Rutilius, tormentes in Regulus, poyson in Socrates, ingratitude in Scipio, persecution in Cæsar, and death in Cato. There is nothing that soner makes a man great and mightie, then the triall of a peruerse fortune: nor any thing breedes a more stabilitie of faith and patience, then the exercise of aduersities, as was well expressed in the wonderfull constancie of Scæuola, whome we may not call vnhappie, for that he burnt his right hand in the fire of his enimies: or repute Fabricius wretched, for that whilest he was absent from the gouernement of the common weale, he laboured his groundes with his owne handes: and muche lesse may we referre to the conquest of fortune the vertue

of

of Regulus, who being led to the gibbet, was made there a monument of faith, and an example of patience. Let vs not esteeme those men wretched who suffer so greate thinges, for that by the passion of them they are made happie, yea they are the preparatiues to true felicitie, and the comfortable guides that lead men to the perpetual ioyes and tranquillities of heauen.

¶ The Author, vnder termes to reproue his friende that had charged him to haue taken out of his chamber a pomander, speaketh iustly against such persons as delight to be perfumed.

IN a singular combat betweene two Romane knightes in the time and presence of Quintus Fabius, it hapned that the victor holding in his mercie & vnder his feet him that was vaquished: thou shalt (saith he) denie in this presence that thou hast sayd, and acknowledge thy report to be false and wicked, or otherwise this sworde shall minister reuenge to ỹ vntruthes which thy lying tongue hath pronounced. Oh (saith the other) that thou knewest as well how to vse the victorie, as thy fortune hath suffered thee to winne it, or that there were in thee as good desert or merit of knighthood, as thou art my mortall enimie, then wouldest thou not be more desirous of my life, then to preserue thine honour: sufficе thee that thy counsel shal not tempt me to the preiudice of mine innocencie, for if my strigth faile to fight further, thou shalt find in me no want of heart to die. By the discourse of this auncient example, I am bolde to make insinuation into the wrong you haue offred me, making me guiltie of the pomander which you lacke, which you haue not onely layde to my charge in expresse termes betweene you and me, but also you haue of late accused me by a publique letter compos-

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ded of the weapons of your braine, more full of choler then furnished with discretion, whiche giues mée occasion to say with the Romane Knight, that forgetting the regarde of a friend, you are falne into the malice of an enimie, séeing you estéeme more your pomander then mine honour. I am not determined to make accompt of the iniurie, and muche lesse to answere your letter in passion, bearing more regard to the profession I followe, then to the house I am come of, since it is most sure that after my death there will be no accompt demanded, whether I haue vsed my selfe as a knight, but rather if I haue liued as a Christian. And therfore the weapons wherewith I am bound to fight, are patience, hope abstinence, charitie, & humilitie, armes alwayes sufficient to defend my person, and without the which I would not liue. But albeit, for many good respectes, I forbeare to ioyne reuenge to this iniurie, yet it is not without reason and libertie that I say my fancie. The thinges which the men of this world do by passion onely, and without aduise, procéede indifferently of want of wisedome & superfluous hope or ouerweening, which in men of respect ought to be eschued, for ẏ they be two humors so factious in mans bodie, that the one drawes him to doe nothing but what anger prouokes him vnto, and the other is hatefull to all reason and counsell. And if for euerie storme of fortune, we become weake and complayne, it cannot followe but in time we shall imbrace despaire, and hasten the vntimely destinie of our lyfe: whiche seldome happeneth to a man resolute and wise, with whome patience and reason haue more custome then choler and passion. It is without fruite to speake fruitfull things to a man possest with passion for that he hath nether sense to tast them, nor wisedome to feele them: yea, it is in vaine to communicate with him that is obstinate, furious, or incredulous: for ẏ when we thinke him most apt to be persuaded; it is then he is furthest off from counsell, and in labouring to appease him, oftentimes we giue increase to his anger: specially if we reduce to his memorie thinges that were the cause of his paine. By these (Syr) you haue to gather, that to men of

 vertue,

that to men of vertue, honestie and estate, (euen such as you ought to be) it apperteynes to take heede that they doe nothing to make them hatefull: for that one fault onely sufficeth to make infamous a whole race, dishonouring as well those that are past, as suche as are present, leauing withall an infection of bloud to suche as are to come. In Cassianus it is mentioned that certeine Pagans, vsing outrage and iniurie to a religious man of honest life, asked him by disdayne, what fruit or profite he had by his Christe? Is not this (answered he) a singular fruit, not to be moued with the bitter wordes whiche you pronounce against me, and so easily to pardon the heauie wrongs you haue done to me? An answere, sure, worthy to be written in the hearts of men, since thereby we are instructed howe great is the vertue of patience, and of what necessitie and profite to the life of man. What merite or estimation can be due to the impatient man? what wealth hath he that hath not the riches of patience? and howe doth that man liue, that liueth without patience? The conuersation and life of man hath oftentimes neede of all the morall vertues, but the vertue of patience aboue all others and at all houres and momentes is most necessarie: for that so many be the infelicities whiche surprise and trauell our humane life, that if we make not as good custome to beare and suffer them, as we do to eate and drinke, we liue in vayne, and shall assuredly finde trouble in steade of true tranquillitie: all whiche I applie to my selfe, and therewithall do let you know, that if it were not familiar with me to suffer and dissemble with suche as you are, I had ere this, in publique sort defyed your malice, and ministred reuenge to the iniurie you haue offered me. The determination of enterprises of warre belongs to the Prince, the assayres of the common weale are referred to the lawes, and all causes of controuersie are managed by iustice: but quarels that impeach honour are tryed by the sworde, being albeit no lesse iust to chastice the corrupt testimonies against our name and reputation, then to weepe and vse contrition for our proper sinnes: yet in regarde I am a Chri-

Aboue all other morall vertues, patience is most necessarie.

strian and no Pagane, and that I professe religion and am a Gentleman, I holde it more tollerable to forget this wrong then to reuenge it, allowing the opinion of Alexander the great, That to him that is iniuried is more need of vertue & courage to pardon his enimie, then to kill him. If you had charged me to haue taken away any trifle tending to recreation or passime, I woulde not haue denyed it, for that I know how farre in al things stretcheth the office of friends: but to say that I was so impudent to take your Pomander, or so vaine to weare it, you do great wrong, for that the one had beene against my conscience, and in the other had beene offence to my modestie and shame: and therefore I say, that if to weare swete smels be no great sinne, at least it can not but incline to voluptuousnesse, and partake with vanitie. Such a young and valiaunt knight as you are, ought more to rayse his merite and renoune by actions of Cheualrie in forreigne warres, then wearing muske in the seames of his garments at home. To women, reteyning by nature many ordinarie infirmities whiche without the helpe of swete smelles would oftentimes appeare loathsome, it is more tollerable to be perfumed then men: and yet the good woman will rather labour to haue her vertues to shine, then her garments to smell of muske: Yea, they are all bound rather to liue well then to smell swete. A pomander howe well so euer it be tempered, and howe swete so euer it smelles, yet can it cast his sauour no further then the length of a streate: where a good renoune will ring ouer a whole kingdome, and the fume of a wicked life will smoake ouer a whole worlde: So that whether she be married, or widowe, whether she be a mayde or a wife, let her alwayes liue in feare of slaunder, and thinke that the fame and reporte of honour is the swetest incense, to make her acceptable to all men, being a thing most foule and loathsome that her garments should be perfumed with swete odors, and her life putrified with euill conditions. I neuer read that any woman hath remayned vnmarried for lacke of being well perfumed, but many and many doe I see refused for want of vertue: for that the man

The good woman will rather haue her vertues shine then her garmentes smell of muske.

inqui-

enquiring of the conditions of his wife, wil not so much care whether she smell sweete, as examine if she be good of life. But let vs also speake of men, to whome generally the philosophers haue forbidden to weare perfumes or smelles: by which occasion Rome remained almost three hundreth yeres without eyther spice to eate, or perfumes to smell: but after the warres beganne to discontinue, vices forgot not to reenter into custome. By which we may inferre, that if there were no idle men in the world, there would be no such reckoning made of vanities and vice. Cicero sayth ỳ these fiue vices, To erect tumbes, to weare golde rings, to vse spice in meates, to allay wine with water, and to beare sweete smelles, the men of Asia sent as presents to the Romanes, in reuenge of the cities and bloude that they had taken from them: By which I gather, that greater was the damage which Rome receyued by Asia, then Asia by Rome: for that the landes and Prouinces whiche the Romanes conquered of the Asians, were eftsoones reconquered and restored, but the vices of them of Asia remayned as a perpetuall inheritaunce amongest the posterities of the Romanes. He that followeth the warres to fight, and he that laboureth the earth to liue by it, hath more care to succéde his businesse then to smell to sweete odoures: yea, it is familiar to vaine men, to séeke to smell sweete, and forget to liue well. In Rome it was forbidden that neyther mayde nor wife shoulde drinke wine, nor man buy muske, amber, or other perfuming smelles: and it was as ordinarie with the magistrates to chastise men that bare perfumes, as to punishe women that were founde drunkardes: the same being verified by the vertuous Emperour Vespasian, who hauing the penne in his hande readie to signe a dispatche which he had giuen a Romane knight, and feeling him smell of perfume, he did not onely reuoke his graunt, but with many threates banished him forthwith his presence. The Romanes persecuting Plutus (a conspiratour with the Triumuiri) founde him hid in a celler, by no other espiall or intelligence, then by a sweete smell which he had scattered as he went. Hanibal a valiaunt

and happie capteine in his youth, suffered his olde age to be seduced by the Dames of Capua, and swéet oyntments of Asia, who so effeminated the forces of his mynde and body, that he did never afterwardes any thing worthy of reporte. The Romanes being in debate to chose a capteine to sende into the warres of Pannonia, referred the resolution to Cato Censorius, who, of two that stood in that adoption, refused one of them being his neare kinsman, for that, saith he, I never knewe him to returne wounded from warres, but I haue alwayes séene him goe perfumed in the streates. The great Numantia in Spaine could neuer be wonne (notwithstanding fourtéene yeares siege of the Romanes) till Scipio purged his campe of loyterers, perfumers and whores.

Lycurgus a notable law reader amongst the Lacedæmonians, erected an institution vpon grieuous paines, that no man should buy or sell any odoriferous or swéete oyntments, vnlesse it were to offer in the temples or to make medicines for the sicke. By these examples may appeare, howe intollerable perfumes haue béene to well ordered countries, and howe hurtfull to many particular personages: it is a vice that slaundereth the magistrate, offendes the multitude, breedes disease in the braine, and brings decay to the purse. For, to buy a payre of gloues of ten crownes, is more for curiositie, then necessitie: Yea, there be many bayne and light men that will not sticke to bestowe a dozen crownes vpon a payre of swéete gloues for their Ladie, that haue not the heart to bestowe a payre gowne vpon a student, nor in smaller things to minister to the necessities of their neare parents: suche men spend their portions more by opinion then in reason: and against all such men is pronounced the threate of the Prophete. The time will come (sayth he) that the perfumed men shall suffer greate paines, and in place of precious oyntments, they shall feele most horrible stinckes: Yea, suche men are abhominable afore God, infamous to a common weale, and their qualitie daungerous to their conscience, and chargeable to their purses. In which respectes, let all Gentlemen practise more to liue vertuously, then to

studie

Iudie to be perfumed, since vnder heauen there is nothing that carrieth a sweeter smell then a good renoune, nor any thing that sauoureth more horribly then the fume & incense of a wicked life. To be a good Christian, is a sweete ointment: to haue a cleare conscience, smelles better then ciuit: and to be innocent in life, and vertuous in example, is of far greater merite and dignitie then all the perfumed pomanders we can weare.

A letter to a particular friende, rebuking all such as offer outrage or iniurie to any that are newly conuerted to the faith of Christ, calling them Infidels or Miscreants, or by any other name of reproch.

SOr, before the children of Israel issued out of Aegypt, they had a King, and no Lawe: but long time after their departure, they liued vnder lawes, and were subiect to no kings: onely their common weales were administred by Iudges, and their soules instructed by sacrificatours, of whome the last, sauing one, was Helie, a man verie zealous to his countrie, but most negligent in the institution of his house and posteritie: For, his children were so giuen ouer to disorders, so subiect to their particular willes, and so farre estraunged from vertue, that the Scripture in the first booke of the Kinges, detecteth them in this sorte, *Peccatum puerorum erat grande nimis coram Domino, quia detrahebant hominibus à sacrificio:* The sinnes of the sonnes of Helie were too great in the sight of the Lorde: for, not content to be wicked them selues, they laboured to drawe others from well doing. Of whiche sinne they were most of all other conuinced, as perswading all others to doe no sacrifice: by meane whereof, and for punishment of their faultes, the olde man perished sodenly, his children were slayne, and their wiues

dyed of childe: so that the punishment of the sinnes of yll doing, and the crime of drawing others from doing well, fell not onely vppon those that did it, but also vppon suche as consented therevnto. I haue drawne this auncient historie into these particulars, not so much to reproche you, as to wishe you well to weighe and note it: but chiefly to introduce occasion to aunswere certeine late speaches of youres, whiche ought to haue bene as farre from your conscience, as they deserue no way to be familiar with your nobilitie.

Plato entertayning an olde man as his speciall friende, ministred to him no small trauell to reforme his vices: and being oftentimes persuaded by his followers, to lose no more time, to take away such desperate and hardened faultes: Sure (sayth Plato) I had reason to be wearie to warne him, if I bare no more regard to the office of a friende, then to the hope I haue to do good by my trauell: for so delicate is the lawe of friendshippe, that a friende ought rather to lose his paines, then leaue any scrupul in his loyaltie. This example serues aswel to our purpose as the figure of the great Priest Helie: and so to our matter. Not to doe yll, I say, is the office of an innocent, euen so to giue ouer to doe well, belonges to a man negligent. To be bolde to be wicked, is the office of an euill man: but to be desperate and defende the yll, is the worke of a man wholy gouerned by the diuell: for that no man can be reformed of his sinne, if first he acknowledge not his faulte: according to the which (Syr) I haue to charge you, that in that you disputed yesterday, you neyther shewed your selfe a knight, a Christian, nor a courtier. For, a Christian ought to esteeme his conscience, the knight is tyed to his modestie, and the Courtier (aboue all others) ought to expresse affabilitie: and therefore, seeing that the honourable Moare in the court, is alreadie baptised and reconciled to the fayth of Jesus Christe, and that by my trauell and against the will of all the Moorish secte, you did against the charitie of a Christian, abused the profession of a knight, and stayned the reputation of a civill Courtier when you called him infidel, miscreant, and infamous

Not to do yll is the office of an innocent.

Moare.

Moare. Are you that God whereof the Prophete speaketh, *Scrutans corda & renes*: taking vpon you to knowe whether this Moare be a Miscreant or a Christian? It may be that you haue measured your merites with his, and weighed in one balance his fayth and youres: or, perhappes, you haue Gods at commaundement to acquite your sinnes and giue you place amongest the iust, seeing you condemne others and iustifie your selfe: Wherein it seemes you remember not that to God onely is reserued the trueth of the secret of suche as are ordeyned to be saued, and appointed to be damned: so that if this Moare beleeue in God as well as you, if he be baptised as lawfully as you, if he goe to the Churche with as good deuotion as you, and if we see him doe no acte, but of a Christian, and in you is found no miracle: I see not howe you haue any authoritie to call him Infidel, no more then he hath reason to doubt you to be a Christian. They be wordes of great rashnesse one man to vpbraide an other with suche iniuries: seeing that to be a good Christian, we are not onely bounde to doe good deedes, but also to vse modestie and myldnesse in our speache: otherwayes if a Christian call his neighbour, Foole, he shall be guiltie of hell. And as there is no great difference of the iniurie for one man to cal an other a foole, and to call him, Dogge: so, to a man receiued into the faythe, there can not be a greater reproche then to be called an euill Christian: for that to be termed Foole, tendes but to the preiudice of the reputation of wisedome, but to be called a wicked Christian, toucheth a mans soule and defaceth his renoune: so that if Christe forbid vs Christians to call one an other, Foole, muche lesse can he brooke the outrage of greater iniuries: since by the schole and rule of his lawe, we are taught to imbrace one an other with suche sinceritie, as neyther to strike with our handes, nor reproche or slaunder with our toungs. When I rebuked you for ministring suche inciuilitie to the poore Moare, you answered that it was an auncient custome of the countrie to call them so, in whiche respect you helde it no offence to conscience to vpraide them, nor breach of ciuilitie to vse

the termes wherewith your toung was most enured. Oh, that men of vertue and honour, taking vpon them to correct a fault, are bounde to great consideration of the estate and nature of the fault, least in seeking to reforme others, they condemne them selues: as may be iustly imputed against you, who, in turning the custome of the countrie to the helpe of your fault to call him Infidel, you committed the greater offence, according to the saying of God to Moses: Take heed Oh children of Israel, that when you enter into the lande of promise, you kepe no custome with the lawes of the Aegyptians. Wherein we are warned, that if the lawe of oure countrie be euill, and the customes wicked, we ought not onely not to allowe of them, but also not to obserue them, since it is as lawful to discontinue an yll custome, as to forbeare to do yll, and with as good libertie may we reforme an yll lawe, though it hath stand by long continuance, as to translate an auncient garment, and reduce him to the present fashion. The reuerent Moare found him selfe much iniuried with your words, and the assistance not a little dishonoured: yea, the remeinder of that race being in good towardnesse to be adopted into the Churche, made their reckoning not to become Christians, if for their faith, they shoulde be bered with such reproches: so that this your fault is the greater, for that in following the children of Helie, you trouble such as are baptised, and are the cause that others will not come to Christendome. *Vidi afflictionem populi mei in Ægypto. &c.* I am not (saith the God to Moses) so careless as men thinke of those that serue me, nor forgetfull to punish offenders: since I haue opened mine eares to the cryes of my people in Aegypt, and doe see the great tyrannies which the gouernours of the kingdome vse against them, for which cause I wil drawe them into libertie, and put the Aegyptians to punishment. Wherin (with the exposition of S. Augustine vpō these words) the Hebrues felt thēselues not so much wrōged, nor god was so greatly displeased with the trauels they endured, as with ẏ particular iniuries which they receiued of the Aegyptians. Which, I beseech you, may warne you here-

after not to be so rash & abandoned to words, seeing I neuer knew any man minister iniuries to an other, but there was inquisition made of his owne life and doinges: yea, euen to the deciphering of his race: which is layne out against your selfe, for that at the instant when you reproched the reuerent Moare and called him infidel, there were that stode behinde your backe, that said secretely, if he were descended of the Moares, your auncestors were of no better linage: such is the gaine that people of ill tongues doe reape, who, if they outrage such as are on liue, others will deface their progenie that are dead: which being a iustice appointed to such as are ministers in malice, yet there it may be auoyded, where is gouernement and restraint of tongue: and therefore I wish you to vse charitie, to the end you may finde recompence of charitie, and forbeare not to do well, the better to nourish good example, and keepe you from the imputation of the sonnes of Helie.

¶ A letter to a noble man touching familiarly how inconuenient it is for a man married, to haue a woman friend besides his wife.

SYr, it brings no smal griefe vnto me that after so long intermission of letters, there is present occasion giuen, not to commun according to our custome, but to debate iniuries betweene you and your wife, who as I vnderstand hath no lesse nede of consolation, then you of correction: wherein by how much I labour to seeke out in whom resteth the fault, by so much doe I finde you guiltie in the occasion, and in her no want of reason: assuring you that if I found her as disordered, as you are reported to be dissolute, I would as well pronounce her worthie of sentence, as with all men you are holden voyde of merite: and if there can be required of a man no more but that he be good, the same ought most of all to be expressed in a woman, since in her is more

subiection to iudgement, and lesse abilitie to cloake or coute, yea, if her vertues appeare not in example, her lighte burnes dimme, and as a shadowe doth but delude the worlde: which being farre otherwise in the behauiour of your wife & my neece, it may please you to pardon me, if in this letter I defend her innocencie, & proue your fault, since of friendes counsel ought to be taken, & of parents remedies to be ministred. Corynth' a notable tyrant, afore he made choice of his wife, desired of Demosthenes to knowe what conditions his wife ought chiefely to be furnished withall: to whome the Philosopher gaue this counsell: Be sure (saith he) that thy wife be rich, to the end the necessities of thy life may be supplied, and the countenaunce of thy estate plentifully supported. Let her be nobly borne, the better to minister to thy reputation and ioyne honour to thy posteritie. Let her be young, to the end her seruice may better delight thee, & thou haue no occasion to find mariage loathsome. Let her be faire, the beter to content thy desires & conteine thee from strange affections. And let her be vertuous and wise, to the end thou mayst with securitie reappose thy estate vppon her gouernment: for, who takes a wife without these conditions, is sure to finde that which he feareth, and misse of that that ought to make his marriage happie: since of all accidents ordeined to trouble the life of man, there can not be a more infelicitie then to be ill encountered in marriage. There is nothing in this worlde so perfect, nor any person so throughly accomplished, to whom is not either further perfection to be added, or iust cause of reformation or amendment. And such is the infirmitie of our common nature, that there are fewe of so full prosperitie, who in some respecte complaine not against the qualitie of their estate: for, many we see are raysed to great welth, but they beare shame of their base linage: some inobled by birth and parentage, and yet are followed with pouertie: many blessed both with riches and nobilitie, but they want the delighte of children: and some gladded with procreation, and they eftsones made sorie with their ill demeanor. And to speake of naturall thinges, we finde by experience,

Counsels in the choyce of a wife.

No man agreeth with the condition of his fortune.

perience, that if the fire comforte vs with his warmth, it bereth vs againe with his heat: if the ayre minister recreation when it is temperate, it puts vs againe into passion when it is violent: if we praise the earth for her fruite, we murmur against her when she is barren: if we haue commoditie by riuers for the stay of our thirst, and to breede fishes for oure nouriture, they are intollerable on the other side when they ouerflowe their channels and drowne our fields and cattell: too much meate breedes indigestion, and too little makes the stomache weake: want of exercise bringes sickneslle, and too much labour is hurtfull: solitarinelle makes vs incline to melancholie, and too much conuersation is importunate: riches are accompanied with care, and pouertie subiecte to sorrowe. But let vs exchange these customes with the actions of auncient noble men in times past, in whom if there were causes of many merits, they bare also matter no lelle worthy of blame: for, the Græcians praised Hercules for his force, but they accuse him of tyrannies: the Lacedæmonians attribute much to Lycurgus for the zeale he bare to his common weale, but they note him for a moll seuere & rigorous Judge: with the Aegyptians, Isis is famous for his patience, but they staine him for his vnchastitie: the Athenians extoll Plato for his doctrine, but they accuse his great couetoulnes: the Romanes make Cæsar to be merciful, & withall report him to be hautie and proude: so that, if in men of so great account haue bene founde imputation of vice and fault: you and I (Syr) may well conclude, that there is no breade without braune, no nutt without shell, no trée without barke, no corne without chaffe, nor any man without fault. All my life long I haue heard men complaine of women, and women murmur against men, in both whiche I thinke is one equall and common reason: For, since there resteth betweene man and woman suche difference in their creation, they must of congruent necessitie be contrarie in condition: and therefore, except in Jesus Christe and his mother, it is blasphemie to thinke that any person is dispensed withall from erring, or acquited from falling.

Man and woman differing in creation, must also differ in condition.

This

This discourse (sir) haue I vsed the better to bring into your remembrance the mariage betweene you & my neece, whiche was accomplished rather by ioynt will and consent then by necessitie, either of you being in state well able and sufficient to preferre you. And seeing you cannot denie, that when you made choyce of her, you promised to serue her, and with great importunities disauowed your selfe from all others to cleaue vnto her: it is neither reasonable nor iust that you now bequeath your selfe to the seruice of an other, seeing by no equitie, you can be due to none other but to her onely. If there be infirmities in her, I hope they are not so desperate, but the office of a good husband may either reforme or suffer them: and for imperfections, I see not howe she can be charged with any, hauing beautie, riches, linage and vertue. Oh how many wiues be there now a dayes, who, if they be riche, they lacke beautie: if they be faire, they want linage: if they haue high birth, they are voyd of vertue, if they be vertuous, they are not young: and being young, they may perhapps want discretion and gouernement: by meanes whereof as their husbands haue whereupon to repent, and their parents no small cause of sorowe: so, let all men esteeme it no small felicitie to receiue in mariage a wife well borne, young, faire, rich, and vertuous, to whome he is bound as the soule to the bodie: and if he exchange and diuide himselfe to strangers, he stands guiltie of no small offence, and is subiect to no little danger. I heare (sir) that you vse the seruice of other houses then your owne in the night: that you delight to walke the streetes and behold the starres: that you visit curtisanes, and haue familiaritie with bawds: exercises truely to decay your substance, and bring danger to your person. And I cannot meruaile a little, that hauing alreadie trauelled most regions in Christendome, whiche ought to suffice to establish the race of your youth, that now you will not seeke to put your mind in rest, the opportunitie so seruing together with the commoditie of so good a wife and large liuing. The vanities or follies which follow yong men, are for the most part referred to the griefes of their

Infirmities in mariage.

youth,

youth: but if we haunt lightnes after we be married, much leſſe that we can be excuſed, ſeeing all the world ſtands vp to condemne vs: and therefore, to make pilgrimage to ſuch Saintes as you worſhipp, or viſit ſhaded houſes wherein dwell no bodie but curtiſanes, women with painted faces, or to be a ſtranger to your owne houſe wherein you find nothing but vertue and vertuous delights: it cannot but bring preiudice to your honour, hazard to your ſoule, ſlaunder to your poſteritie, and ſpoile to your patrimonie: for that, beeing ſo poſſeſt by ſtrange women, where they haue no poſſibilitie to marrie with you, they wil labour to plume vpon you, till they haue left you neither fether nor fleſh. If you haue no regard to your ſoule, at leaſt looke backe to the ſafetie of your goods: ſeeing that from the day you enter mariage, and haue children, as touching your goods, you are no more lord, but onely a tutor and keeper of them: and therefore no leſſe guiltie is he that loſeth his owne goods, then he that robbeth other. But if you haue no reſpect to your goods, at leaſt beare care to your honour, to the end you may more eaſily aſpire to publique charge in the common weale: which being not diſtributed to young men full of libertie, but to men of ſettled ſtay and grauitie, it behoueth you to remaine no longer as you are, but to be ſuch one as you eſtéeme your ſelfe to bee. If you beare no reſpect to your honour, at leaſt vſe conſideration of your ſoule: for ſo delicate is the lawe of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo ſtreite the commandements of God, that they doe not onely forbid men conuerſation with ſtraunge women, but alſo condemne all deſires that way. It behoueth you alſo to haue care ouer the ſecuritie of your perſon and health: ſince it commonly happeneth to the man ý emboldeneth himſelfe to drinke of al waters, and carieth a key to open other mens lockes, that in ſeeking to diſhonor his neighbour, he ſhal ſuggeſt peril to his owne life: your wife will endure hard fare, many frowninges, reſtraint of libertie, all reproches, yea, though they be thundered with ſtripes, with all other perplexities, vpon condition onely, that you loue her alone, and ſeeke no knowledge with others. For, there is no greater deſ-

paire

paire to a married woman, then when her husband dischargeth vpon her backe all his iarres, quarels, and passions, and reserueth his pleasures, ioyes, and companie for an other: yea, it is hard in whether of the two resteth ẏ greater heart, either as touching the husband to doe so, or in respect of the wife to endure it. Oh! it is intollerable to the wife, to heare her husband merrie abroad, and finde him froward at home: to haue him steale from her, to enrich his friend: to communicate with his minion, and be a straunger to his wife: and to minister to the wantes of his concubine, and be without pittie to his proper children. In the lawe of Christianitie, the same faith the woman is bound to keepe to her husband, he is also bound to obserue to her: but if wiues had the like authoritie to chastise, as husbandes take libertie to accuse, sure, they would neither take to such sorrow the disorders of their husbands, nor in them would be found such facilitie to offend. Besides, from the season that man and woman be vnited by the holy promise and couenaunt of marriage, they haue so smal iurisdiction in particular ouer themselues, that it is no kind of theft, if either the one, or the other, alienat or diuide their bodies. Consider therefore (sayz) the great occasions you giue to your wife, who, hauing youth, riches, and beautie, and courted with no simple importunities: if she were otherwise then she is, she would perhaps bestowe her heart vppon some one of those many that bestow vppon her their eyes: occasion may do much, & there is no worse thing to tempt a woman then the ill example of her husband. For your part, if you thinke your wife not worthie to receiue recompence of affection, at least haue consideration of her merite, and let not her loyaltie discouer your penurie, nor her constancie complaine of your want of honour. If you will not obserue to her the lawe of a husband, for the respectes of your soule, your honour, your goods, and your health: at least remember that what pleasures or felicities you finde in the companie of your concubine, are nothing in regard of ẏ disquiets you shall finde when you come home: for, how wise, how secrete, how temperate, or how holy so euer a wife be,

No worse thing to tẽpt a wife then the ill example of her husband.

yet

yet she had rather die then not to giue reuenge to the iniuries of her husband, or not to make him feele her iealousie: and therefore to men that are drowned in fancie with forreine women, it is in vaine to repose in the bawde who wil be corrupted, or in the concubine whose indifferencie makes her a blab: seing in cases of iealousie, wiues are so subtile, and with all so liberall, that the better to espie and trace out the confederacies of their husbandes, they will not sticke to corrupt the quicke by monie, and coniure the dead by charmes. And so God graunt you that you want, and defend you from that you deserue.

¶ A treatise of the resurrection of Iesus Christ, together with an exposition of the fifte Article of the Creede that he descended into hell, and roase againe the third day.

ACcording to your request, I haue sent you herewith the declaration of the fifte Article of the Créede, in substance as I published it, but not in sort as I pronounced it: for that it is impossible that in the penne should be represented the facilitie, grace, and edifying vertue of the tongue, according to the opinions of the best Philosophers and Orators, both Gréeke and Latine, with whome the penne was accompted insufficient, to satisfie or compare with the honour which they had gotten with the tongue, and specially to record or write sermons, wherein they held that the matter should lose his grace, and the authour his reputation. Notwithstanding, according to your power to commaunde mée, you shall finde no want of desire to doe you seruice: albeit vnder this condition, that if you be not satisfied, the fault is more in your importunitie then in my charitie: and so to the matter.

The fifte article of our faith expressing that Christ descended

ded into hell and roase eftsones the third day, conteineth two partes, wherof the first comprehends our confession that he went into hell, and in the second is conteined his resurrection. Some diuines diuide it into two articles, but we draw it into one, conteining (notwithstanding) two partes tending to one end.

We confesse that our redéemer being buried, his holy body remained in the graue thrée dayes, being in déed dead during that season: but his soule in the meane while was not ydle, for that it descended into hell to doe there a wonderfull action, which he accomplished: and so we confesse that on the third day his soule was reioyned to his bodie to giue it reall and essential life: so that there can be no doubt that he roase not againe hauing obteined the victorie against death.

Wherein, if we consider thinges in iudgement and equitie, we shall finde great matter in the humilitie of the sonne of God, and in whome may be séene the singular mercie of the father not sparing his sonne, and his readie obedience to accomplish the eternall will of his father, all inuiting vs to beare no small loue and thankfulnes to him. In this article and in the former, are declared the degrées by the which the sonne of God descended, and embased himself euen to things incredible for a personage of that dignitie. The first degrée was to make him man, and to vouchsafe to be borne at a time certeine, he which was borne eternally. The second was that he yet humbled himselfe, more to suffer sentence and publique condemnation as a malefactor. In the third, he toke vpon him the torments of the crosse, a death most cruel, and more infamous then any other sort of passion. By the fourth, he was content to suffer death, not as God, albeit being God, but as man, in such sort as the very person of God suffered death. In the fifte, he suffered himselfe to be buried as others that were dead, making himselfe like them in all thinges, as if he had béene comprehended vnder the curse of Adam, to returne into dust whereof he was formed: yea hée that was frée from sinne and the curse. And by the last stepp or degrée he descended into hel, whither were descended such as stod

The ladder or degrees where by Christ descended from heauen.

as stoode destitute of their proper iustice, to the ende to open to them the gate of the kingdoome of heauen. By these degrees, if we consider spiritually the descending of Iesus Christe, we shall finde it as long as is the distance of heauen from whence he came, vntil the Centre of the earth whether he descended. And as there restes no other place any further to embase the sonne of God, so would he not be committed to more humilitie: onely there remayned one degree whiche proceeded of sinne and the fellowshippe of sathan: out of the which the person of Christ was exempted, he which came to redeeme sinners and iustifie men, and vanquishe the diuell. All that he could suffer, to be made a sacrifice for our sinnes, the sonne of God was inclined and embased vnto it, sinne onely except, wherevnto he could not be subiect: for that there is too great enimitie betweene the iustice of the sauiour, and the malignitie of sinne. The greatest part of the degrees aboue mentioned concerning the descending and humilitie of the sonne of God, are declared by the Apostle, who speaking by the suggestion of the holie Ghoste, sayth: That the sonne of God beeing verie God, was content to disguise him selfe not to be intreated of the worlde as God, but embasing his estate euen to take vpon him the forme of a bondman, & appeare to the world in the representation of a man, becomming altogether a seruaunt, whose obedience refused not the passions of death, yea the infamous execution of the crosse. In this (as is sayde) is expressed the greatest parte of this wonderfull embasement of estate, which the sonne of God toke vppon him, seeing of verie God he is made verie man, and being man he embased him selfe vnder all men, being handled as a poore slaue of whome the worlde made no reckoning. From thence he suffered an other embasement, euen to be pased to condemnation of death, and not a death in common manner, but the execution wherevnto were ioyned dishonour, infamie, and bitter torments: Of this humilitie the Prophetes haue written saying, He was put on the ranke of offenders, and accompanied with wicked men. In an other place Esaie giues this testimonie of him, that Esaie. 35.

He neuer hid his face from such as would buffet him, nor his shoulders from those that woulde strike him, nor his beard from any that would rent it. In Ieremie also is declared the assemblie of the wicked against the Lorde, and the conspiracies whiche they leuied to persecute and destroy him, and to empoyson his meate and life. In S. Iohn albeit he had made the worlde, yet he was misknowne of the worlde: and the Euangelist hath comprehended in fewe wordes the depthe of the place frō whence the Lord descended, seeing he being the workeman of the worlde, is come notwithstanding in suche extremitie, that the worlde misknewe him: for, muche lesse that he was acknowledged for lord and maker of the worlde, seeing he was not iudged worthy to dwell in the worlde: being innocent, he hath bene condemned, & albeit his iustice & integritie were publique and manifest, yet the worlde made no conscience to throwe vpon him those great wrongs: yea, being assuredly knowne that his enimies accused him by false testimonie, yet the wisemen of the worlde woulde rather condemne iustice, then displease the wicked. Lastly, the humilitie and handling of Christe, agreed fully with the prophete Dauid speaking in the person of our Lorde in these termes: I am no man but a worme of the earth, the reproch, retract, and shame of men, & the scorne of the people. There rested yet one degree, spoken of in this present article of the Creede, wherein we confesse that the sonne of God descended into hell after his death: and touching the declaration of this last descending, we haue to consider that this article may be vnderstanded in two sorts, they both being certeine, catholique, and ful of great mysteries. The first intelligence hath bene alreadie begunne to be declared, and conteines a demonstration of the greate humilitie and wonderfull embasement supported by the sonne of God in this worlde, being reduced to the vtter extremities of sorrowes, torments, shame, and infamie. There is no spirite sufficient to comprehende fully the great sorrowe expressed by the Lorde in these wordes: My soule is heauie euen vnto death: the feare and heauinesse being so much the more apparant, great, and

Iere. 12.

Iohn. 1.

Psal. 28.

terrible

terrible, by how much they inforced droppes of bloud to fall from his face euen to the earth. All the other passions wherewith the worlde vexed him, were of no meaner effect, and therefore complayning to his father, he cryed, Oh saue me Lord, for the waters and broyles of the tempestes are entred, euen to take away my life. I am sanke in a gulfe of myre, and can finde no place firme to fixe my foote vpon: Wherein is ment no other thing but the horrour and furie of our sinnes with the punishmentes due, together with a signification of all our miseries, and that whiche the diuell and the worlde could doe by the meane of the vnrighteous and wicked, keeping warre against our Sauiour with persecutions, torments and vexations. In this sort was his descending into the deapth and bottome of the earth, and by consequence the first intelligence of our article, which, together with all that depends vpõ it, may be proued by the second vnderstanding, which hereafter shall followe. And the better to vnderstand it, we must presuppose, that such as afore ỹ cõming of Christ were dead in his fayth, in his spirite & knowledge, had obteined pardon, and were truely reconciled with God, notwithstanding the gates of heauen were not open to them, vntill the Lord which deliuered them had passed therein, as the only iustifier and true pacifier. Psal. 68.

In the meane while they remained in rest in a place named Hell, or bottome of the earth, expecting their deliuerie when the sonne of God should come to drawe them from thence: but all this while, they were neyther in the companie of the damned, and much lesse endured their torments, neyther had the diuell any iurisdiction of them: seeing, if they had beene of the reprobate and damned sorte, the diuell had had perpetuall power ouer them, as he hath had and hath ouer the curssed and miserable, who dye without repentaunce of their sinnes, and without participating in the benefite of the bloud of the sonne of God. And for that by the occasion of sinne and reigne of the diuell, the gates of heauen were cloased, and the ioy and vse of beatitude stode restreined & limited to a certeine time, I say that ỹ place was

a prison and the prison of hell, a place wherein the fathers of fayth expected the comming of the Sauiour of the world.

In this place then were the auncientes that were iuſt, not that they felt the torments of the damned, but had onely a carefull deſire to ſee the propheſies accompliſhed, and themſelues deliuered, and all to inioy the preſence and companie of the ſauiour, together with that moſt happie viſion of the maieſtie of God. So that in this ſort did the ſoule of Jeſus Chriſte deſcende into that place, accompanied with his diuinitie which never forſake him, and diſſoluing the priſons, he brake in peeces all the chaines and linkes that helde tyed the ſoules of the faythfull. This was is it that Zacharie the Prophet ment, when he ſayd, that By the vertue of the bloud of thy ſtomache and of thy teſtament, thou haſt drawne thy priſoners out of the lake without water. Wherein the Prophete ſpeaketh euen with the ſonne of God, as true God and ſauiour of men, and foreſeeing ſuch great miſerie, he ſayth, that By the vertue of his bloud wherein conſiſted the ſaluation of men, hee had drawne his ſubiectes and friendes out of their darke priſon, which he ſignifieth by the lake without water. Seeing that in ſuch like places conquerours are wont to beſtowe their priſoners for their more punishment and better ſecuritie in priſon: by the ſame alſo the Prophete takes the compariſon of a great Prince that entereth into the lande of his enimie, not to ſhake his ſworde and remaine there, but to ſurmount and haue cke his enimie, and take from him by force his ſeruants and ſubiectes, whom of long time he had holden priſoners. By this is ſhewed the great power of Jeſus Chriſt according to his owne praiſe in theſe termes: So long as a ſtrong man (ſayth he) and wel furniſhed with weapons, keepes his houſe and defendes it by force, all that he hath is in peace: But if there come one more mightie then he, hee makes him forſake his guard, chaſeth him out of his houſe, and becomes Lorde of all his goods. Euen ſo did our Lord with the diuell, exprelling vppon him his wonderful power, and great victorie which he obteyned againſt the kingdoms of darkeneſſe: For, ſeeing the diuell hath layde a-

ſide his weapons, it is a ſigne he is vanquiſhed: and ſeing death is conquered, the diuell muſt needes remaine diſfurniſhed of armes: and ſeing the depthes and bottomes of the earth haue bene illumined by the light and preſence of our ſauiour, the kingdome of darkneſſe is defeyted and brought to ruine. And ſo for concluſion, we finde three great conſiderations in the firſt part of this article: whereof the firſt hath bene debated, comprehending the great deſcending and extreme humilitie whiche the ſonne of God toke vpon him to ſaue man and confound the workes of ſinne. The ſecond conſiſtes in this, that whileſt his moſt holy body accompanied with his diuinitie, remained in the graue to teſtifie that he was truely dead: his ſoule deſcended into the darke priſons, where were deteined the holy fathers notwithſtanding they were not in the power of the diuell: For albeit they were iuſtified by the vertue of the mediator and their fayth and repentaunce, yet they were baniſhed from heauen and put as it were in priſon, to witneſſe the effect and operation of ſinn, together with the neceſſitie which man had of the comming of the ſonne of God to giue them their ful remedy: So that the ſauiour of the world entering into this priſon, and confounding all darkeneſſe by his great light, did fully comforte and ſatiſfie by his preſence, the holy ſoules whiche expected him with a deſire farre aboue the iudgement or cōprehenſion of man. It was then that thoſe good auncient fathers ſawe the accompliſhment of the promiſe long afore made to them, that Out of their ſeede ſhoulde riſe one that ſhould breake the head of the great Serpent. Then all their deſires were accompliſhed, beholding euen with their eyes the maieſtie and preſence of him, whome ſo often they had ſeene in contemplation and ſpirite: in whome they had layde vp all their hope: from the remembraunce of whome they did neuer ſwarue, and by the onely thought of whome they had ouercome all their aduerſaries: taking comfort in him in their miſeries and perplexities. Then did Abraham ſee him who was promiſed to bleſſe all his people and all nations, in the faith of whom he was circumciſed, and made al-

The viſion & conſolation of the auncient fathers.

liance with God. Isaac saw him whom he prefigured when his father thought to haue sacrificed him: he saw the sprinkles and marks of the blond, whose effusion was most sweet before the face of the father from the beginning of the world. Iacob who had called vpon his sauiour in this death, saw his desires fulfilled, no more resting whiche he might require. Melchisedech saw the great sacrificatour, the sacrifice of whome had neyther end nor rule. Moses spake then with the great Prophete which God promised to send to deliuer his people from the captiuitie of the spiritual Aegypt, whose power and authoritie should be so peremptorie and greate, that who wold not obey him, shuld dy eternal death. And the great prophet Dauid embraced then the helth which he had so long desired: he saw then that great and mightie Christ, of whom he had made so many holy ditties and songs, and in whose hope he had so many times taken comforte and banquished sinne. Lastly, all the iust of the times past, saw the accomplishment of their desires, the ende of their sighes, the remedie of their miseries, the comfort of their sorrowes, and the victorie against death, hell, and sinne, and all by the presence of the capteine whiche came to guide them euen vnto the sight and maiestie of God. Oh, how possible are the perplexities whiche men suffer vnder hope of the promises of God: howe happie is that abiding or expectation, which for pawne hath the veritie of God? Howe well assured and well recompenced is that patience which is of long sufferaunce & neuer swarueth? All these auncient fathers were in diuers seasons, and yet they had all one faith, they were al inspired with one spirit, all serued one Lord, all liued and dyed in one hope: they all bare their crosse in this life: they al were made prisoners in that place: lastly, they all saw in one instant, him whome they had so long expected, together with the fulfilling of al the promises which had ben made to thē. There the sauiour of the world spake to them, publishing good newes touching their remedies and restitution: and communicated with them the greatnesse of the mysteries which it behoued him to doe for their redemption; there is no doubt but

with

with them he vsed most deare familiaritie: yea, he who was alwayes so ioyfull with his owne, vsed no lesse fauour and consolation to those with whome his father had made alliance, and so iustly kept his promises. And they likewise rendred no small thankes and prayses to the Lorde, that had so accomplished his worde for the saluation of the worlde, yea, they departed out of their olde prisons with no small triumphes, to followe their capteine whiche had ouercome so many and great enimies. The third consideration is, that our sauiour Jesus Christ did not onely breake the prisones and deliuer the holy fathers, but also by this descending, he brought a great astonishment and feare into hell and ouer the whole kingdome of the diuell, making him knowe that his forces were dissolued, and that nowe was brought to effect the breaking of his head expressed long before by prophesie: and that the gates of his darke kingdome were throwne open, and all his workes brought to nought. Euen as a capteine victor entering into the fortresse of his enimie, and hauing once pluckte downe the munition and ensignes, so commits it to ruine and spoyle, that he leaues an easinesse to subdue it as often as he will: euen so in the same sort the sonne of God gaue suche a terrour to the kingdome of hell: that sathan and his ministers knewe well, their forces were broken, and that there remayned vnto them no possibilitie eftsoones to reestablishe a kingdome of sufficient power to resist the meanest souldier of that great capteine, and that hereafter he coulde take no prisoners except some wretched cowards and people of smal valure, which would offer them selues to be captiues of their proper and miserable will. In this sort the principalitie of hell so felt the inuincible and assured power of him, who being dead and his body left in the sepulchre, shaked them notwithstanding with so great war, that on the one side he leuyed those prisoners that were kept restreyned, and on the other, his vertue so weakened their infernall forces, that they remayned euer since vanquished. It was then that they sawe and knewe that their hell, whither they thought to haue reduced all mankynde, was forced and dissolued: and that sinne whiche they had

introduced into the worlde and death that insued it, were dead and vanquished by the conquest of this newe and invincible prince: that was it which the Apostle spake of, that the sonne of God hath defaced and sacked the powers of hell, the worlde, and putting them to publique confusion, and triumphing ouer them in his proper person: so that the enterprises of our sauiour in this comparison represent vnto vs the forme and actions of a valiaunt capteine marching before men, before Angels, and before the face of the father, with a great troup of enimies vanquished, bound, and spoyled of their forces.

In the beginning of this article, we touched that our lord made his descending by certeine degrees: yea, euen to a wonderfull embasement of him selfe, and knowne only to the diuine wisdome. This embasement hath bene prophesied vnder the signe of descending from heauen vnto the bottome of the earth: but now we say that of al those degrees by ỹ which he descended, and of al other things which in the wisdome of the worlde made him seeme so embased and vanquished, he carried a wonderfull victorie which increased alwayes more and more. In the first degree he was made man, that was the true and eternall sonne of God. This step and wonderful humilitie albeit it is great: yet he neuer abandoned his diuinitie, no, he could not lose it, and much lesse diminish it: by it his humanitie was greatly exalted, being by the same mean so conuered with the diuinitie, that one selfe person was God and man. If it were possible that God might gaine in any thing, it might be sayd that he gained in this, but hauing want of nothing, he gaines not as a needie man: for, he hath no necessitie of any thing, and much lesse can there be added to his greatnesse. But because the gaine of men is great in this, receyuing a benefite which was neuer communicated with Angels (for God neuer toke alliance nor seede of Angels, but chosed the linage of Abraham) we say also that there was a gaine and profit to God, being a true declaratiõ of his riches, and of his workes, whiche are comfortable to him, together with a playne manifestation of his mercie.

God hath no necessitie of any thing.

Heb. 2.

This

This victorie against sinne and the diuel is truely worthie of the person of the sonne of God: seeing that mankinde which he was put to perdition by the subtiltie of the serpent, is redeemed and redeliuered from the seruitude of the diuel, and restored to an estate of abilitie to be the children of God, by the meane of this sauiour. The second degree of this descending of the Lord, was in that he was condemned publiquely as a malefactor. In this descending there is a great want, and yet by it he recouered a wonderfull victorie. For, being our brother he deliuereth vs from the eternall condemnation, so that all our libertie and absolution dependeth vppon his condemnation: he hath payd the debtes which he made not, euen so those shall be discharged which owed them. He was condemned by the sentence of men, and we absolued in the iudgement of God, hauing deliuered vs from the curse of the lawe which had condemned vs. The thirde degree was when he was iudged to the death of the Crosse: for, by his death he brake ỳ forces of death, despoyling him of his weapons wherewith he had made so great and vniuersal slaughters: for which cause the Apostle demaundes of death where was his victorie, and where were become the meanes by the which he determined so many men?

By the fourth steppe or degree he was put into the sepulchre. But the better to comprehend the true sense of this passage, it is meete we make some iudgement and construction of thinges. The historie of the Gospell declareth, that oure Lord being dead, Ioseph demaunded of Pilate to take his bodie from the crosse and burie it, which Pilate suffered by the ordinance of God: and hauing taken it from the crosse, they wrapped it in a newe linnen cloath, and layde it in a sepulchre where no man had yet lyen: lastly, hauing embaulmed him with the oyntmentes which Nichodemus brought, they left the body in the graue, rouling to the mouth thereof a great stone: (Marie Magdalene and the other Marie considering wel in their vnderstanding the said sepulchre.) All this serueth to two effectes: the first is to render a testimonie of the trueth of the death of Iesus Christ, shewing also a great

mysterie comprehended vnder the graue: but the Churche comprehends both the one and the other in one word, his sepulchre: and that he remained there three dayes, erpresseth the trueth of his death, making by that meane his resurrection more euident. In this article the embasement and humilitie of the sonne of God increaseth more and more, as also his spirite and victorie which he hath obteined for vs: for, it is said first of al, that he suffered the condemnation of Pilate, and was executed, and so being dead, his body was buried. It semes that all these bring increase to the victorie of the diuel, the world, and death: but of the contrarie, it is our victorie that is inlarged: for, by how much nere doth approch and is manifested the death of our Lord, by so much more is at hand the end and ruine of our death: death is dead, and vanquished in such sort that he hath no power against vs, and for such one we put him into the graue. Esay hath prophesied that the Lord should destroy death eternally, and dry vp the teares of his people, & take away the dishonour of the earth: In which woords may be discerned the full victorie against death, which hath no power to confound nor make sorrowfull the true Christian. It is not said by this that we shall not die, and not feele death which is naturall: but by this is expounded that the prickes and sorrowes of death are vanquished, and haue no authoritie against a Christian, seeing that for the exchange of this temporall life, he goeth to the eternall life, accompanied with the faith that he hath had that Christ is his redemption and his life. In this is performed the prophesie of Osee, speaking in the name of the Lord: Oh death I wil be thy death, the same agreeing with the Apostle, who assureth vs that our death is vanquished by the passion of Iesus Christ, and our sepulchre buried in his: yea, our death hath lost his forces which made him reigne ouer vs, and our graue hath lost his power and possibilitie to reteine vs still, seeing it cannot now any more hold vs in propertie or perpetuitie, but as it were by reputation and for a time. In this sepulchre of the sonne of God is also conteined the mysterie of the coniunction whiche wee haue with him by

death

death and the graue: the end of the death and burying of Iesus Christe tending to this, that we die and be buried with him. For, as the bandes and forces of our death were broken by the vertue of the death of him that killed death: euen so by our death must we vanquishe the stinges and prickes of that death that ẏ merite of our sinnes made due to vs. This is the same which the holy Ghost speaketh, by the mouth of the Apostle: Wee are buried with Christ in his death, to the end we participate with his life, being impossible we should communicate with his life, if first we haue no action or societie with his death, for that we cannot haue part in the one, vnlesse we accompanie him in the other: and so the last degree conteines (as hath beene alreadie declared) that he descended into hell, committed the diuel to spoile, and brake his prisones for euer: wherein (according to the text of the Apostle) his victorie increased and became great, euen by ẏ same measure that he embased and humbled himselfe.

Thus much for the first part of our article, and so let vs descend to the second part, wherin we confesse that the sonne of God roase againe from death, and the third day returned really and truely into life.

¶ Touching the resurrection of Christ.

LIke as the foure Euangelists haue vsed great diligence to particulate the outrages, condemnation & death of the sonne of God, euen so they haue beene no lesse carefull to set out, point by point, his restoring and resurrection. According to the computation of the time vsed in ẏ Gospell, he died the Friday at ix. a clocke in the euening, and roase againe the Sunday following in the morning, ioyntly wherevnto we agree, that he remained three dayes and three nights in the graue, taking part of ẏ Friday, which was the day of

of the death for the whole day: and the residue of the Sunday (being his resurrection) for an other whole day: all which doe serue manifestly to the proofe and trueth of his death, and restoring to life: being all fore-ordeined and stablished in the counsell of God.

Ioseph demaunded of Pilate his body to burie it: but Pilate desirous to know whether he were dead in deede, sent for the same purpose a Centenier to discouer a trueth, and then condescended to Iosephes request: yea, when they came to take downe the dead bodies from the crosse, because they should not remaine there the next day, being the great feast of their Sabboth, they found the two theeues on liue, and our Lord dead: all which, with many other approbations which may be alleoged, together with some particulars whiche we meane to ioyne to the sequele of these, are sufficient proofes of his resurrection.

Our Lord beeing thus put into the graue and embaulmed, souldiours were set to guard the sepulchre: and in the meane while his disciples remayned sorrowfull and heauie, hauing very little hope of his resurrection, and small knowledge of the scriptures to the vnderstanding of this mysterie. They beleeued that their maister had preached the trueth, and that he was most iust in his workes, and that God had sent him: but touching the matter of resurrection, they were very blind and doubtfull,

After there was time enough performed for the proofe, faith, and testimonie of his painefull death, and to establish the accomplishment of the mysteries and prophesies: the Sunday morning, bringing with him the triumphes of hell and death, he roase againe and returned to life, and to such a life, that after that, death had no more power ouer it, beeing defaced and deuested of all meanes effsoones to exercise his iurisdiction.

Immediatly after he was risen againe, he appeared to his disciples, to assure them of the consolations giuen vnto them before he died, and withall to accomplish the wordes spoken and promised by him, That he would rise againe the

third

third day. The first person to whom he reuealed himselfe after his resurrection, was the virgin Marie his mother, as who aboue all others liued in most expectation for him, and he likewise bare vnto her a most deare affection: for, if we consider her by her faith, she had it more great then all the rest: and if we haue regard to seruices, she merited with the best, hauing nourished him and followed him with no small care, pouertie, and perplexitie thirtie three yeares: in her is expressed a good testimonie of his death: for that standing at the foote of the Crosse, where she felt the accomplishment of the prophesie of Simeon, That the sword of sorrowe should pearce through her entrailes: she was chosen of the father to serue in an estate of great excellencie: euen so was she accomplished with thoughtes and actions meete for the seruice of such a function. And albeit, both by her perseuerance (being greater then the rest that followed the Lord,) and that the trauels of his death were of more passion to her then to others, hauing more interest therein by nature: we may gather that she was the first of that holy companie to whome he disclosed his resurrection: yet the Euangelists ascribing nothing to the singularitie of persons, leaue all that apart, and recite to whome he appeared, with all such circumstances and proues as serue for testimonie against the people of the Iewes. He appeared to Marie Magdalene in forme of a gardener, in the selfe same garden where he had beene buried. He appeared to his disciples, the selfe same day in the place where they were drawne together for feare of the Iewes. He appeared to two disciples which went to Emaus. At the end of eight dayes he appeared once againe to his disciples, S. Thomas, being then present, who was absent the first time. Lastly, he was seene of his disciples neere the sea of Galilee, there being yet besides these so many other testimonies to confirme this trueth, that it were but superfluous to adde more to the authoritie of these. Thus much for the narration of the historie.

And like as the resurrection of that Messias was of great importance, so also was it prefigured and foreshewed by the

Prophets

prophetes that went afore: for, Ionas was throwen into the sea, and swalowed of a Whale, and yet by the mercie of God after he had remained three dayes and three nightes in the bellie of the fish, he came out safe and sound to accomplish the commaundement of God. In this Ionas the seruaunt of the Almightie, was a figure of our sauiour: for, as he was cast into the sea to saue from wracke all the others that were in the shippe, and that by the consent and determination of the mariners: euen so oure Lord was past to condemnation by the counsell and resolution of men, and for their safetie throwen into the sea of persecution of death: in such sort that the earth receiued him as it doth other dead bodies, reteyning him three dayes and three nightes as a body detected without life, and yet in the end the power of God raised him againe, and drew him out of the graue hauing vanquished death. Of this besides many other propheties, Dauid hath written most manifestly, speaking in ỹ person of our Lord as a man, and that by the inspiration of the holy Ghost: I alwayes (saith he) set afore mine eyes the Lord, whome I haue of my right hand to keepe me that I fall not: For this cause doe I reioyce, and my tongue shall beare testimonie of my contentment, but specially for that my flesh shall rest in hope. For, Lord, thou wilt not leaue my life in the graue, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption. Thou hast shewed me the way of life, euen so shalt thou fill me with pleasure by thy presence: For, thou beareſt in thy right hand a perpetuall blisse. In these wordes the Lord sheweth the singular fauour which he receiued of his father, in that death had not domination ouer him, but was subdued and vanquished, shewing withall the gladsome contentment he had to see the eternall Father on his right hand: in this hope he offered his body to the death, and dispersed it vppon the crosse, and receiued the graue, breeding certeine of his resurrection and victorie, and that aswell touching himselfe, as also for all mankinde: wherein declaring also his confidence and ioy of his victorie, he sayeth that his father hath not suffered that his life should remaine prisoner in the graue for euer, & much lesse that his soule should

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be there deteined, and not returne eftsones to be reunited to his body: and lastly that his most holy body conceiued by the holy Ghost in ỹ wombe of the virgin, and which had passed so many passions of tormentes for the seruice and obedience of his father, should not suffer corruption in the graue but afore nature could accomplish that operation, his soule should eftsones, receiue coniunction with his bodie.

The Prophete saith (moreouer) that he hath shewed him the way to returne to life: concluding with action of thanks, that he hath surmounted death and sinne. The sonne of God did not onely obteine priuilege to rise againe, but also to him was ioyned power to make his resurrection afore there was any such signe of corruption in his bodie, as naturally appeares in others that be dead: this respecte was kept on the behalfe of his most holy person, and the flesh which he had taken for that effect, beeing pure and without any marke of sinne. Besides all these, we may consider vppon the end of this Psalme, a great mysterie of the victorie which ours Lord obteyned against death, together with the assurance of oure resurrection, the same leauing vs satisfied and certeine that once againe wee shal reenter into the possession of our bodies, after wee haue abandoned them by the rigor of death.

With this Psalme Saint Paule proues the resurrection of the Messias against the Iewes, saying, that Dauid was dead and buried, whose sepulchre was well enough knowen amongst the Iewes: concluding, that seeing the body of Dauid had passed by that corruption which is common and generall to all dead men, it was not possible that those words should be vnderstanded by him, and therefore what he said, he ment it by Iesus Christ, whom neither hell nor the graue had power to deteine, and to whose flesh could be attributed no sense or sufferance of corruption: so that Dauid being a Prophete, and hauing receiued promise by oathe that the Messias should descend of his seede, prophesied of his coming vnder the forme of wordes afore recited.

This is of great importance for Christians, to whom it is a true

a true approbation and summarie of all the workes which the Lord did and of all our religion, together with an assured gage or pawne of all our hope. S. Paule saith, that it is concluded, and the resolution already set downe against the adversaries and unbelieving, that Iesus Christ is the sonne of God, the same being proued in this, that the father hath raised him from the dead with a great force and wonderfull testimonie, thereby to shew that he was his onely sonne. Wherin on the one side might be seene the sentence of men, the condemnation of the world, ỹ reprobation of the people of the Iewes, the iniuries, outrages, and torments of ỹ crosse and of death, which may alledge against the Sauiour of the world that he was not the sonne of God, but an abuser: seeing hee was condemned by so great personages, endured so many afflictions, yea, fixed on the crosse in such sort and such extremitie, that the miserable world might esteeme him for such one as of long time had beene prophesied: that is, that he was not reputed a man as others were, but as one most abandoned of God and of all men. And on the other side might be seene the holy prophesies, workes & words of our Sauiour, and his doctrine expressing the reason of his comming, and the mysterie of his death, together with ỹ sentence of his father, who, to shew himselfe true in his workes and promises, had raised him againe from death, declaring that he was his true sonne. All these things being of such importance were foretold by Iesus Christ afore his death, being willing to prophesie and publish his resurrection both to his friends and to his enimies, to comfort the one, and conuince the other: yea, he thought meete to manifest it to all, to make the world understand that he was sent of the eternall father to saue the world, and that it was he that had beene promised in the Lawe, offering himselfe to death of his onely and proper will. The Iewes demaunded of him some signe to knowe who he was, but he aunswered that they should haue no other signe but that of Ionas: for, as Ionas issued out of the bellie of the Whale the third day, so the third day after his death he should likewise ryse out of ỹ centre of the earth,

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hauing in that action vanquished death.

As he went once to Hierusalem, he tolde his disciples that he shuld be deliuered into the hands of the Gentiles: he communicated the forme of his death, assuring them that the third day he shuld rise againe: and speaking with them a little before his death, he comforted them, saying, that after his resurrection he would go before them to Galile: so that our confession by the which we acknowledge our Lord to be risen again the third day, is confirmed by good and great testimonies requisit in a thing of so high mysterie and importance, being also matter of no small consolation to the children of God, together with assured testimonies that may be gathered against the wicked in the holie scriptures and predictions which our Lorde made before his death.

Certeine meditations and considerations vpon the resurrection of Iesus Christ.

The firste consideration that the faythfull Christiã may take of this resurrection of Christe, dependes vppon the meane wee haue already spoken of. For in his resurrection we may comprehend that which appertains to the dignitie of his person, to declare him suche one as he is. By which he hath shewed that he came to vanquish & surmount sinne & death, & to pronounce, that as who soeuer would follow him should liue eternally, so to such was reserued euerlasting death as would not obey his word and doctrine. For, in him (saithe he) is conteined resurrection and life, yea, and the salnation of those that beleeue in him.

Now that to proue those thinges, and assure consolation to all such as should giue faith to his wordes, it was requisite, that he should not onely manifest himselfe the author of life in calling others, but that also he shuld exercise it in his proper person, giuing this testimonie of him selfe, that albeit he was dead, yet he had more power then death, for that

he was able to returne to life. By this it appeares that the resurrection of Christ, is a true proofe of his greatnesse, and a declaration that he is the Sonne of God; hath surmounted al trauels and perplexities, hath domination ouer death, and ouercome hel, sinn, and the diuell, seeing he hath disfurnished them of their principall weapons, wherewith they did tyrannize ouer the linage of man, which is death that followed. It is also a proofe, that as wee honour, serue, and beleeue in a man dead and crucified, so also we muste obey, followe, and serue in faith a man that hath foretolde his resurrection, and which is risen againe from the dead, seeing that one of the reasons why he dyed was, the more to declare his power, and manifest further his force and excellencie of life together with his power against the kingdome of sathan.

In the seconde consideration is inclosed a wonderfull secret, greatly quailing the estate of mankinde, it is diuided into two parts, according to the testimonie of the scripture, whereof the one consistes in his death, and the other in his resurrection. Touching his death, we haue alreadie debated that in it was comprehended the death of our trauelles, the death of our death, the mortification of our olde Adam, and the spoile of the forces of the wicked roote of sinne whiche reigned ouer vs. And in his resurrectiō we say now is comprehended the reestablishment of our life, the newnesse of our iustice, the vertue and spirituall generation of the new Adam in vs: the woorkes of this new life, the hope that this newe people of God hath to returne to heauen, & finally the thoughtes and operations agreeable to the maiestie of God. Christe was not sacrificed onely for him selfe, but for vs: he is not risen againe onely to declare what he was, but with al to make himselfe such a one to vs as his Father might receiue vs: he is dead for our sinns, and risen againe for our iustification: his death made to die all wicked things, but in his resurrection were reuiued all good things.

In effect wee haue to consider touching the vertue of the mysterie of the resurrection, that he is also so risen again in vs spiritually: that if it be not long of our obstinacie

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and rebellion we shal fele the force of his resurrectiõ in vs, that is, he will ingendor in vs a power and will to doe the woorkes woorthie of a newe life, & will make vs to rise againe to a newenesse of life, by the which we shalbe found agreeable before the face of God: & being risen with him we shall vanquish death and sinne, and be made free from the servitude of sathan, being affected to the cõmaundements of God, louers of his iustice, & zelous of his glorie, to participate in the end with ỹ heauenlie life by the cõmunion which we haue with the life of Jesus Christ in thoughts and woorks: so that let all Christians vnderstande, that if in humilitie they search a remedie for their sinnes, opening with all ỹ gate of their hart, they shall finde within Jesus Christe raised agayne: and that being in the companie of so greate a Lorde liuing, who hath vanquished death, they can not haue in them any deade thing: for, they shal also arise againe spiritually w̃ the Lord into that newenesse of life whereof we haue spoken. Let vs therefore take hæde to refuse the mortification of our wicked woorkes, of our disordered appetites, and our wicked affections. For, if we bowe or bend our selues we shall without doubt apperteine to the other part of this mysterie, and rise againe with Jesus Christe. In this sort is to be vnderstanded the saying of the Apostle, That we are buried with Christe by Baptisme, and deade to our sinnes, and to our old Adam. For that as Jesus Christe is risen againe from the deade for the glorie of the Father: so we muste enter into a newenesse of life, beeing assured to keepe him companie in the resurrection, if we accompanie him in his death. He died to make die our sinnes, & liued againe to giue life to our iustice, and therefore it behoues vs to die as touching our sinnes, & to be diligent to do good woorkes: whereunto let euery good Christian referre al his care & studie, and raise al his thoughtes, demaunding all those things in his praiers, and searching them neither more nor lesse then he woulde doe a precious treasure wherein lieth hid al his felicitie. The victory is already gained, and the faithful are assured of their forces, for that the sonne of God soliciteth for them, & holdes all these benefites in his disposing. Rom. 7.

In him we may be bolde to repose our suretie, seeing he hath so much suffered for vs: and to make vs communicate with these graces, his mercie will neuer fayle vs, seing he hath not denied it vs to get them. Sure, in respect they haue cost him so deare, and that the paiment is alreadie made, it will not be hard to giue them vnto vs.

In the third consideration of this article, the good Christian hath to vnderstand, that in the resurrection of ỹ Lord, we get not onely spirituall resurrection as hath bene said, but also we haue assurãce of the resurrection of our bodies. So ỹ considering that Iesus Christ is risen from the dead for our wealth & profite, we may be assured that he is risen both in bodie & soule, and ỹ our resurrection is no lesse certeine then his rising againe, being the assurance and gage of our resurrection, and he being in all thinges our first borne and captein, he marched before vs, and we must follow him. All the wretchednesse that the diuell had caused, were repaired by the sonne of God: for, as ỹ diuell threw spirituall death vpon mankinde, so in the vertue of our sauiour that death is destroyed and banquished, and a life spirituall giuen vnto men. The diuell procured corporall death to mans race (for death was brought into the world by sinne) but the sonne of God hath ioyned to vs a corporall resurrection. For, as death was introduced by a man, so by a man came restitution and resurrection. We were all dead in Adam, euen so are we all reuiued and raised againe in Iesus Christ. This accomplishment apperteines to the liberalitie of the diuine maiestie, whiche hath reestablished & restored vs to the benefites, which he hath already communicated to vs. Our death is banquished on all partes, and on all sides oure life is restones reestablished. Wee are absolued and made free of all thinges, seeing wee haue on our side the death and life of Iesus Christ: the souereigne bountie drawes vs from sinne, ỹ sacrifice is offered, and we haue obteined pardon for our iniquities: being but poore and wretched slaues we are made rich, and haue obteined libertie to be the children of God. And if wee lose this benefite, it is eyther for some newe

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vault of ours, or that wee will not cast or chaunge our olde skinne. In effecte, in this Article is disclosed the greate humilitie and mercie of the sonne of God, who refused not to go into the darke prisons of the earth, to deliuer the soules of the iust there deteined, and despoile the diuell of all his force and power, to the ende that men may with more ease vanquish and surmount him. We see also that after all this, he rose againe the thirde day and returned into true life, yea a life so excellēt that death hath no more power ouer it, nor any possibilitie eftsones to preiudice it. We haue shewed how this resurrection hath bene sufficiently iustified euen by the places of scripture according to ỳ testimonie of ỳ crēde, That Christ rose againe the third day, according to the scriptures, which seemes to haue bene taken of the Apostle. We haue also declared howe necessarie was the resurrection, for the approbation of the dignitie of the person and doctrine of Christe, seeing that in the same is expressed the sonne of God. Wee haue also debated howe it is to be vnderstanded and practised this greate mysterie, partly for the regarde of our Lorde, and partly for the resurrection spirituall and corporall, whiche he worckes in vs by vertue of his restitution. There remaines nowe to declare who they be that practise the contentes of this article in fayth and worckes: and who they be that satisfie it not. Suche as professe and practise the substance of this article, as apperteineth, are those that persuere in the mortification of their sinnes, their flesche, and their disordered suggestions of the olde Adam, that they reduce and bring him euen to the graue, that is, that they make a full and perfecte victorie of him, with a greate remorse in themselues, and a resolute hatred to all wicked and ill actions: returning by the same meane into a newnesse of life, newe desires, and new operations and actions: beeing lastly altogether conformable to that newenesse which the sonne of God is wont to communicate with suche as are risen againe with him: those be they that accompanie our Sauiour. For, as he is risen againe to be neuer after made subiect to death: so the faithfull risen againe spi-

ritually, feele themselues so conuerted and out of taste of the woꝛkes of sinne, that the spirituall death can not pearce so deepe as their heart. And as our Loꝛde rose againe triumphing, so shall they also haue a gloꝛious restitutiō, being repurged of al wicked affections and inclined to al good things to whom the yoke of the Gospell shal seeme easie and swete, and shall trauell in greate thirst and appetite to obserue the commaundemēts of God. Their charitie shal inflame, their patience pꝛepared to suffer al paines and tribulations, they are gloꝛified in the gloꝛie of Jesus Chꝛiste, they haue an honestie & puritie of conscience, they are chaste, they loue their neighbour perfectly, and pardon with all their harte such as do offend them. They retire themselues from the thinges of this woꝛlde, and abandon the pompes and ambitions of the same, as though they were vnapte therevnto, and had no minds affected to such trāsitoꝛie vanities: foꝛ, they are made new men, restoꝛed and rayſed againe by the Sonne of God, who hath triumphed both ouer death and all dead thinges: and so are they made his that hath raised them, to serue him with newe fruites which their newe life bꝛinges foꝛth, they feare not to suffer death to maintein ẏ which god hath oꝛdeined: they care neither foꝛ repꝛoche noꝛ hunger to defend iustice and truth. Foꝛ their new life kepes them from smelling of those things which might hinder their faith, perseuerance, and constancie of heart in the traine of the gospell, & ioynes vnto them a certeintie of a better life which assureth them of all things.

Of the contrarie, such as be estraunged from this pꝛactise, haue no other thing but the simple name of those that are raised againe. They are as painted sepulchꝛes set out to the shew, without and win cōteining nothing but rottennesse & coꝛruption. Such were the Phariseis with whom they haue only the title of life and liuely, and in effect are nothing else then deade, rotten, and coꝛrupt, reteining that stinke and loathsomnes which is wonte to be about dead bodies. Suche be many of our chꝛistians, who vnder this name, hide a pꝛide and arrogancie which the diuell teacheth them, instructing

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them withall to be couetous and impatient, the more to make them ſauour of their ſtinke and filthineſſe. Laſtly, thoſe be they that haue not chaunged nor caſt their ſinne, and who being not mortified, can not be raiſed againe. For, reſurrection preſuppoſeth death, as there can be no death but there muſt be firſt a life, wherewith I end the expoſition of this article, yéelding thankes for all things to God, whom I beſeech to continue his people in that proportion of fayth which he thinkes neceſſarie to their ſaluation.

¶Certeine teſtimonies of Pagan Authours ſeruing to approue Chriſtian religion, written in forme of a letter to a Noble man.

According to your requeſte I haue ſente you here with my opinion, though not ſo liberally as you loked for, yet with that faith & induſtrie as may very wel ſerue to ſatiſfie your conſcience, and leaue me acquited of my promiſe, eſtéeming it to appertaine to me to inſtruct you, ſéeing of your ſelfe you expreſſe ſuch deſire to knowe and learne. And albeit the matter it ſelfe drawing many circumſtances, requires a long time: yet, where thinges are debated faithfully, and the reſolution accepted diligently, that which is long ſéemes not tedious, & though it be little yet it may be enough for inſtruction, beſéeching you to weighe my reaſons which I haue not drawne out of dreames, but written them out of the beſt reſolutions and agréementes of my bookes.

The vertue of Chriſtian religion is ſo great, the miracles that haue confirmed it haue bene ſo publique and euident, & the innocencie and holines of life of ſuch as haue profeſſed it haue bene ſo cleare and manifeſt, that the very enimies haue bene driuen to beare teſtimonie with it, notwithſtanding that they impugned it with all their induſtrie. Yea, it is a thing wonderful, and ſeruing ſufficiently to declare that our religion is guided by the hand of God, that beſides the large and great teſtimonies annexed to the Goſpel it ſelfe, yet the

uersaries beare with it suche witnesse and authoritie to the dishonour of Sathan and his errours, that by their owne confessions we se, that the cause why they remain in their hardnesse of hart, without receiuing the light and way that leads to eternall life, hath proceeded of their sinnes and blindnes, making them subiect to the subtile suggestions and policies of the diuell: wherein for a prefe, I shall not so muche neede to inferre authorities of scripture and old christian authors (who notwithstanding are sufficient to verifie and confirme our faith:) as to take to mine ayde the weapons of our enimies, to the ende that by the testimonie of their proper consciences, we may remaine absolued, and they condemned.

The first testimonie I produce shalbe Tertullian a writer in the time of the primatiue church, a mã of great knowledge, maintaining the cause of the Christians againste the Pagans, and pleading & writing publiquely on the christians side: and hauing (as it were) but sipped and tasted of christianitie, he had more fully surfeted of ẏ Pagan faith, to whome he bare a resolute zeale: he was in ẏ times of ẏ Emperours Seuerus and Caracalla, being about two hundred three score and tenne yeares after the death of Christe. All the arguments which he inferreth against the Pagans, he deriueth from their proper histories, and of thinges that were done in that time, shewing the reason why Christe was not worshipped at Rome. The Romanes had this custome, not to canonize any new God (although the emperour would haue it so) without the approbation and consent of the Senate, the same well appearing in all the Romane edictes and histories, wherein is defended to receiue any straunge God without the authoritie of the Senate, & that by reason of the great inconueniences happening by the libertie that euerie one toke to patronize himselfe with one God a part, as may be sene in the times of the Bacchanales and other seasons.

It happened that Pilate who had giuen sentence of death against Christe: notwithstanding he was stubberne in his opinion, yet being conuinced both by his conscience, and the certeintie he had of the restitution of him whom he had condemned

demned to death, aduertised Tiberius the emperour of all that had passed, touching the death and resurrection of our Lorde. The emperour obseruing with this report, the opinions and great renoune that went of his passion, wrote to the Senate, that it were good to canonize Jesus Christe for a God. But the Senate, whether it was for that they were not called to the first consult of this matter: or that they wold not make thinges so easie to the emperour, especially in a case of so great importance, fearing it would growe to example and consequence, helde opinion contrarie to the emperour, and would not suffer that Christ should be worshipped as God. Wherupon the Emperour published an Edict against such as wold accuse christians, the diuell hauing thē stirred vp the Iewes and gentiles to persecute those that had receiued the Gospell: by which it came to passe, that in the time of Tiberius the christian church was somewhat in rest, the Gospell fructifying greatly amongest the Gentiles. Thus much for Tertullian, who durst not haue written so in his time, if things had passed otherwayes. For, then was Rome in hir estate, & statutes of the Senate were diligently preserued by registres, where vnto Tertullian sendes the Gentiles, referring them to their proper actes and ordinances, wherein they may finde that the firste persecution against the christians was in the reigne of Nero. In all these are ministred many thinges of consideration, declaring that the affaires of the Gospell haue bene managed by a speciall prouidence of God. For first, God so wrought that Pontius Pilate who had passed Christe to execution, bare witnesse to his father of the greatnesse of him whom he had condemned. Secondly the lawes of the Senate, and contention that was betweene the Emperour and the magistrates, make good faith and prowfe, that the refusing to canonize Christ at Rome, was not by any default that was founde in him, but by reason of the vaine ordinances obserued there, by the libertie of which they had power to accept for Gods suche as they would, and reiecte whom they held not acceptable. Besides, the great prouidence of God is knowen in this, that the

diuinitie of Iesus Christ being sufficiently iustified as well by his workes as by his holy doctrine, yea by the testimonies of his enimies: yet he woulde not suffer him to receiue this dishonour to be accepted of the people of Rome for God, and much lesse to be compared and placed amongest their false gods whom they worshipped, he which was true God, & had preached that their was but one God, and that all others were nothing but abusers and spirites of the diuell. This prouidence also shewed it selfe great in this, that albeit the Emperour was no Christian, yet he forbad vppon greate paines to trouble, persecute, or to accuse the Christians: the same being the cause that the Gospell was published in his first age, and that the Gentiles and Pagans gaue eare to it: to the ende that when the greate persecutions should happen the Churche might be founde to haue some foundation, and certeine troupes of Christians vnited by the holy worde of the Gospel. And therefore we haue to conclude, that al these things and accidentes haue bene guided and gouerned by the wisedome of God, seeing they serue to the approbation of so high a mysterie. For our second testimonie we wil vse Plutarche, a Pagan borne, and of no small authoritie amongest them, and at no time well disposed to the Christians. He thinking to set downe a reason why the Oracles of the Gentiles had taken end, alledging many things according to his blindnesse, & without any knowledge in the affaires of God, recites an history by the relation of a friende of his of no small authoritie and knowlege as is suggested. To this was referred so much the more stabilitie of fayth and credite, by how much he makes it to happen in his time.

He sayth that sayling into Italie, and being in a shippe accompanied with his said friend and many others, about the euening they fell within the coast of certeine Ilands nowe called Cuzolares confining vpon Italie. There the wind failed them, and by that necessitie were driuen to goe on shoare in one of those Ilandes called Passionne. Before the mariners had supped (the sea being at a softe and still calme) they heard a voice comming out of the Iland which called

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one of the patrones of their shipps, being an Aegyptian, and had to name Tamus: which was vnknowne to many of the companie, sufficing to see him a capteine and gouernour amongst them. This voice calling him three times, he answered but to the thirde, asking what it woulde: to whome the the voice replied aloude in these woords: O Tamus, when thou shalt arriue at Salus (nere to the Isle of Corfu) tell them that their great God Pan is dead. All the Naue fel into great feare & trouble of mind with the sound of the voice, and consulting what was to be done, Tamus, to whom was cõmitted the confidence of the message, resolued, ỳ if the wind serued, he woulde passe by the place assigned by the voyce, without saying any thing, giuing no other credite to it then as a vision or illuding suggestion: but if the wind failed, then he promised to performe the embassage. Accoording to which resolution, the wind abating, he was driuen to rest at anchore euen in the same place. Tamus standing vpon the vppermost hatches of the shippe, began to crie with a loude voyce, The great God Pan is dead. He had no sooner ended his speech, but there were heard generall lamentations, sighes, sorowes, shrikings, with straunge and wonderful voyces and that in maruelous multitudes. This accident was forthwith carried to the knowledge of Tiberius ỳ Emperour, who railed al possible diligence to vnderstand what might that god Pan be that they sayd was dead, wherein the wisemen and wisards of that time, answered him accoording to their superstitions and vaine coniectures. This Pan was a god which the Gentiles woorshipped, there being many other Gods of ỳ name. And this happened about the time of the passion of Christ, as may be gathered by the years of the reigne of Tiberius the Emperour. In deede Pan in greeke signifieth All: wherupon many do gather ỳ al this was spoken of the death of Christ, true god & lord ouer al things. But because ỳ Gentiles held Pan for a God, there is good congruencie to take the death of this Pan for the spiritual death of the prince of diuels, for the destructiõ of his kingdom, & the ruine of his errors by ỳ which he hath kept captiue al mãkind. To this are cõformable ỳ noise and

and voices of the spirites complayning and lamenting the ruine of their Prince and his spirituall death, beeng nowe made naked of the strength and forces wherwith he oppressed and vered mankind. The same author affirmes, that about the same time, one Demetrius passing by the Iles Orcades neare to England, was tolde that not long since, there was heard great whispering and houleings in the ayre, and many feareful things seene: the wyse men of those Ilandes construing those prodigious thinges to ỹ death of some great God, which opinion hath some reference with the iudgements of the other wonders. But these straunge sights and significations in the world, interprete in true testimonie & iudgement the straungenesse of the death of our saviour Iesus Christ, and of the victories which he hath obteined, together with his triumphant glorie.

The third testimonie we may draw from Traian the emperour a prince Pagan, and albeit much resolued into paganrie and a greate persecutor of the christians: yet so qualified by ỹ truth of the gospell, that he was cõstrained to moderate his crueltie, though not so muche as he ought, yet so farre as ministred ease to the godlie. Plinius Secundus established his deputie in Asia against the Christians, aduertiseth the emperour that he found no other ill in the Christians, but that they made certeine assemblies, not to erect any Monopolie, nor to cõmit theft, nor to vse ribaldry, nor to practise deceit, nor to desire the goods of others, nor to execute any vilanous act: only ỹ cause that they assembled together, was to cõmunicate in cõmon and necessarie actions: as to eate & drinke together, offering no hurt or prejudice to any. That which he found most wicked and ill in them, was, that they were addicted to a certeine superstition, not declaring it, and so cõcluded that there was no ill in them. This was in the beginning of our Christian religion, and yet in that time the professours of it were bitterly persecuted. But notwithstanding they were accused and suffered imposition of great crimes, yet when they came to the triall and prowe (no small matter amõgst people Pagane) they were holden so guiltles,

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that euen their enimies gaue testimonie of their innocencie, (the diuell not withstanding keeping them so blinde, that they had no iudgement of that which they did, nor vnderstood what they pursued, and muche lesse knewe what they were whom they caused to die so cruelly,) Plinie founde them not culpable in any thing except a certeine superstition, and yet without any apparance of ill. He esteemed it superstition, to beleeue that one man dead on the crosse was the Sauiour of all men, not considering further the groundes of this religion. The assemblies they made were chiefly to celebrate the sacrament of the supper, which conteined a greater mysterie then Plinie could finde out. But the Emperour hauing this aduertisment from his deputie, forbad any more to inquire against Christians, willing notwithstanding that such of them as were attainted and conuinced, should be punished and corrected. Tertullian deriding this edict, exclames against it saying: Oh ordinance confused and foolish! He forbids inquisition because they be innocent, and yet leaues libertie to chastise them as offenders: in one instant he pardoneth, and yet he is cruell: he confesseth innocencie, and yet dissembleth it: if he will punish them, why defendes he information against them? and if he will not haue them inquired vpon, why doth he not absolue them? There are established in euery prouince Prouostes to apprehend and imprison theeues and robbers: and euery one hath libertie to kill a publique enimie, and to execute such as the lawe hath conuict of treason: but alone touching the Christians, it is not suffered that they be sifted as offenders, and yet is it lawfull that euery one accuse them, as though they be thinges different to cutt off any one as an offendour, or to present him as a malefactor. Wherin this edict suffereth this contrarietie, denying information and inquirie against the christians & yet leaues libertie to punish them if they be found guiltie. For, if no man informe against a Christian, howe shall he be founde guiltie: and in cause of information, what meane is there to accuse him, and so consequently to punish him, not finding him culpable of any thing? So that the Emperour would

woulde that they were punished not as culpable, but onely for y they were Christians. In al which as may be discerned the testimonie which the first Christians had of their proper enimies, together with the simplicitie of the statutes by whose meane they were persecuted: euen so, in all these things is matter tending to the auouwing and iustification of our iustice. The fourth testimonie we may draw out of y doings of Adrian a Prince Pagan and dying in the same superstition, who, vppon the viewe and consideration of certeine inhibitions deliuered to him in writing by Quadratus a disciple of the Apostles, and Aristides a Philosopher, conuerted to christianitie, dispatched commissioners to his Proconsul of Asia, inioyning him not to molest the Christians, for that they are and beare the name of Christians. Yee had not sure erected this edict, had he not bene wel informed of the innocencie and iustice of such as followed Christian religion, and had some taste by the doctrine of Quadratus and Aristides of the reasons apperteining to the mysterie of the Gospell. For he deuised to builde temples dedicated to the seruice and worshipping of Christ, wherein his counsell restrayned him, alleadging that in that example would be generall conuersion to Christianitie. In this may be discerned the conscience of his counsellours, who stode vpon no other impedimentes, but a certeine feare that by that meane the multitude would come to the knowledge of the truth. Those temples that he did builde were not subiect to idolatrie, neither would he suffer customes of superstition, being for those respectes called the temples of Adrian. Marcus Antonius Aurelius, declared in fauour of the Christians, that they worshipped the immortall God: he gaue libertie to who would be a Christian, and forbad expressely that they should be molested. The Emperour Alexander Seuerus published a law in grace of the Christians, that they should not be persecuted, and much lesse restrained to vse publique conference and action of their religion: he had hanging in his Oratorie y Image Of a Crucifix, and deuised to build a temple wherein Christ shoulde be worshipped, but he suffered

many

many impedimentes that drewe him from it. All this was wrought by Gods prouidence, foreseeing ẏ the sauiour of the worlde should not be put amongest other false Gods. This prince in all his deuises and speaches had great familiaritie with this principall point of Christian discipline, Not to doe another that which he wold not haue done to him self: wherin was good declaration ẏ his conscience could not denie that truth, which those men professed that were persecuted of the world. Valerius Maximus the Emperour was a great vexer of the Christians, yet the truth of the gospel, & the chastisementes of God which he had bitterly fealt, made him oftentimes reuoke the streight and seuere edictes, which he had ordeined against the Christians, giuing libertie to who would professe the state and opinion of Christianitie, & they not to be vexed by any persecutions. All these men and great princes were sworne enimies to the religion, & died in their ignorance and blindnes, whose testimonies are of no small effect against the enimies of Christ. For, when they ceased to vexe & persecute the church, and beare fauour to the Christians, it proceeded of none other motion then of the puritie of religion, and of the iustice and innocencie of those that professed it, together with their constancie in all acts of vertue, bearing withal a fetled hatred to all vices. They saw also the sundry maruels & prodigious things which were done daily for the reformation of that doctrine, and felt the anger of God & his chastisementes thundered vpon such as persecuted the church. So that it seemes, that in those things was a spirit in forceing those mightie princes to testifie for that doctrine, and beare fauour to it, to the end that on al sides errour and falsehode mighte be driuen away, as beeing not able to remaine where the light of the Gospel shuld dispearse his beames. In that time when the Gospel began to be planted and sowen, and that the name of a Christian was so dearely solde to him that bare it: the prouidence of God raised a meane to remoue the crosse from the Church, to the ende she were not so oppressed with persecutions, as not to haue leasure to recouer breath, and eftsoones take fresh courage.

This respite was giuen by the means to haue conuersation

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with the Pagans, and yet remained from the Emperour Tiberius untill Nero, who was the first that persecuted the primatiue church: yea this persecutiō brought great slaughter to the christians, euen to the principalls of the churche, and Christes disciples, hauing brought to perfection their race and course, and accomplished all those thinges that apperteyned to their time, and for the whiche they had bene miraculously preserued. The Emperour Domitian continued this affliction, and by him notwithstanding the goodnesse of God wrought a meane to ceasse and remoue all those tormentes, for that by the hate whiche Domitian bare to the doinges of his predecessour Nero, he with the senate brake all the statutes and ordinances of Nero: by whiche was ministred to the Churche good opportunitie to reenter into comforte and courage, bringinge some rest to the Gospell, the better to haue it communicated in some suretie, and to plant it with greater power: so that in good viewe and consideration of these affaires & actions, we may discerne in these discourses of the Christian Church, a wonderful fauour and prouidence of god, seeking on the one side to proue and examine his Churche by a rigorous crosse; shewing her the traces and steps of her sauiour, to the end to folow him: and on the other side, he exhibited a fatherly loue and incomprehensible prouidence, making her truely to see, that neither the furie of the kingdome of sathan, nor the rage of his ministers are sufficient to supplant and rote it out of the worlde: yea, hauing on her part the infinite power of God, she shal stand eternally, and yet the world not know the meane how she is preserued. By this meane also may be discerned how readily and feruently ẏ ire of God is kindled against the aduersaries of the Gospell, seeing that all the Romane Emperours which persecuted it, suffered wicked & monstrous, ends: as of the contrarie, such as were moderate and temperate, found fauour with God, and were lesse punished of the world, laying them in cōparison with Nero, Domitian, and such other like princes whom the diuell held in his deuotion to persecute the churche. By these meanes

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the primatiue Church was maintained sometimes in one estate, sometimes in an other, vntill the reigne of Iulian the Apostate, who being a Christian in his beginning, was seduced by Libanius Sophista his scholemaister to abandon Christian fayth, and restore Paganrie, together with the sacrifices and superstitions whiche had bene abolished by the light of the Gospell. By these it is wonderfull to see howe Christian faith increased, seeing the impediments of persecutions that were raised against it. But much more are to be wondered at the respites, succours, and comforts which euē her proper enimies ministred vnto her, as wel appeareth no lesse by the relation of those mightie Princes and Emperours before declared, then also by the persecution of this Iulian, in whome Gods prouidence wrought no lesse benefite and fauour, then in any of the rest: seeing that notwithstanding, this Prince persecuted the Churche with greater arte and hate then any of his predecessours: yet God forbare not to raise her into an estate of great spirituall prosperitie, this tyrant seeing as well in his life as his death, euident tokens that God was his enimie. For, euen in his time the Gospell was preached and receiued by the greatest part of the world, by which, the wisdome & gwdnesse of God disclosed manifestly, that that which floated and flourished in despite of the industrie, crueltie, and power of the world, was come from heauen, from whence was ministred vnto it all fauour, succour, and ayde.

The original of tyrannie and idolatrie, together with the punishments of tyrants and idolaters: howe Abraham was chosen chiefe of the Hebrues.

Our letter, no lesse full of modestie and sweetenesse, then replenished with doctrine and iudgement, brings no small delight to me, for that to your deepe science already in things, I finde remaining a zealous desire yet to knowe more: wherein I can not but

account it to belong to my office, to adde to your zeale and trauel, my faith and diligence, though not able to teach you further, yet, as touching the request of your letter, to shewe my opinion, leauing to be controlled by that fauour and wisdome wherewith you are wont to measure and indge the errours of your friendes. But touching the matter, as you haue to remember that out of the race of Cain, issued Nemroth the great tyrant, who, by his ambitiō and pride subdued all mē and nations of his time, inforcing them to liue vnder his tribute and customes: so, there is no doubt but these tyrannous spirits are most hurtful to the world, and by the scripture reputed as enimies of god. For, their desire to bear rule, makes them breake al order of iustice, bearing no regard to lawes nor ordinaunces: yea, in respect to increase & maintein their principalitie, they giue sufferance to al mē to be insolent, with libertie to commit disordred actions. In the time of Nemroth were many possessed with this wicked spirite of pride and ambition, who assembling together, conspired to build a tower of incomparable tate of height & measure, to the end to perpetuate their name and reputation amongst mē. But God, beholding their arrogant intentions, and willing to manifest the wickednesse of that tyrannie, & presumption of that pride breeding so many miseries & euils let fall his anger vpon them, confounding in suche sort the tongs of the builders and workmen, that one vnderstood not another, since they all spake vnknowne and strange languages. Afore the foundation of the tower of Babylon, there was but one language in al the world, God then inflicting vpon the earth a wonderful punishment by the confusion and diuersitie of speches. But thus it hapned that the first men hauing but liued vnder the vse & knowlege of one tong, & now being in confusion and diuided into many, dispersed themselues through the world, by whose posteritics haue ben cōtinued all those diuersities of languages that nowe reigne. This diuision of tongs was the cause that the tower of Babylon was not ended, by which occasion also, the Princes of the earth leauing their tyrannie, were driuen to search new

countries

countries to inhabite, euery one following his language as an ensigne, vnder the which they might plant and multiply. By this diuision of men and countries, people fell into so great errours, that forgetting the doctrine of God, together with the promises he had made to men, the most part of the world became idolaters, declining to such superstitions as the diuell inuented daily to aduaunce his purposes. So that idolatrie toke his beginning of infidelitie, and the wicked inclinations of men, delighting to leaue the right way and to follow that that leades to perdition. To this was muche helping the forgetfulnesse of the truth, and the negligence of men caring not to follow religion and doctrine, and much lesse to teache it to others. An other originall or fountaine springs of the loue of our selues, called Selfe-loue, together with an insatiable will which men haue to put thē selues in libertie, inducing them faithfully to search a thousand ways for their satisfactiō, and by some mean to inuent abhominable superstitions, wherunto the diuel is so ready to ministre assistance, with all the art and fauour he can, that more sinners, to make them the more hardened and desperate, firing vpon certeine false and deceitfull experiences, attribute in ỹ end, dignitie to any thing, of the which (according to their coniecture) they had receiued ayde or answere. In other places, they haue a certein feare in their consciences, which restraines them to demaund of God the things which themselues esteem to be wicked and dishonest. But that it comes to passe, that they are pleased with ỹ seruice of these false Gods, who care not but only to be serued as gods, wout regarding whether the men be iust or vnrightful. For seeing these dissembled gods be diuels in deed, & passible to al actions & counsels of diuels, they are of cōmon congruencie, enimies of iustice, & friends to wickednesse, those be the preparations ỹ the diuell finds in ỹ harts of such as he hath inchaunted, abusing them with perswasion, ỹ there is a god of battels, & an other of robberies, a god of drunkennesse, & an other of whordome, al these gods being most delited wᵗ such as most are giuē to dishonest acts. Infidelitie also (ỹ root of all sinnes) was one cause those

miserable people were ignorant of the greatnes and power of God: yea, they could not be brought to beleue that one god was sufficient to furnish particularly al thinges necessarie to the vse of men and seruice of the world. Of this came the pluralitie of Gods, men beleeuing that they were restreined to precinct and limit, and that euerie God had his particular estate to gouerne. Of which sprang the first idolatrie: for some worshipped the Sunne, with many other trifling and dishonest thinges: and others did worship to diuels which abused thē by illusions & oracles, yea, sometimes by certeine appearances of remedies tending notwithstanding to their ruine. This blindnesse was suffered by the iustice of God to punish such as leauing the light, run after darknes, making themselues iudges of their proper affections, and ruled their heartes according to the same how good or euill so euer they were: in which respect God willing to punish those vices & errores, suffred the diuel to raise false signes and myracles, euen to aduaunce the destruction of suche as fell into spoyle by their infidelitie and multitude of their transgressions.

And albeit idolatrie was great before the floud, and that the world pursued always his first corruption, being stirred vp by the diuel who induced men to a forgetfulnesse of God: yet, the mercie of God who had not forgotten his promises made to mankinde, so prouided for the effect of his promise, that he chosed a people particular to reestablish with him the [illegible] of his promises and alliances: to them he gaue a perfect light to guide them against those darknesses and obstinacies which the diuell raysed against them, he established lawes and ordinaunces touching the seruice of religion, with expresse commaundement that they obserue them, and be attentiue to the word of God the better to arme them against the subtilties, suggestions, and illusions of the diuell. So that there is (no dout) but this people was chosen to be a graine wherein should be preserued the puritie of the seede of the doctrine & the assurance of the mercy of God, seruing withal to declare howe wonderful God is in his workis, & to remaine as a mirror to all nations to serue & honor but one

God,

God, confounding all other Gods, as false and of the diuell. In effect, God saw good to continue the rote and stocke of his truth to his people whome he had chosen, to the ende the world might knowe that he drue to him his people by other meanes then did the diuell, with whom it hath bene alwayes familiar to lay snares & subtile traps to intice the frailtie of men. Duer this people of God Abraham was chosen chiefe and leader, as afore him were appointed Seth and Noe: but Abraham being a Chalde, and liuing amongst an idolatrous nation, God saw good to make a choyce of him and call him to him selfe, commaunding him to abandon his countrie and kinred, and go whether he would guide him, promising to make him great, yea, euen a mightie ruler ouer a large people. All this conteines as yet nothing but mysteries of the diuine wisdome and of workes of iustice and mercy. For first, God chosed for chiefetein of his people, a man who may serue for example to all posterities succeeding him, for fayth, loue, obedience, trueth, iustice, patience, charitie, knowledge of sinne, and lastly for all, what so euer may concerne the honour and glorie of God, and his seruice. He was called of God to serue as an example to his newe people, and all others, and in whom God would expresse with what fauour, support, and ayde, he followeth those that serue and honour him. To him all Princes and principall guides of people, ought to confirme and referre their counsels and actions, for God loues such as he as he was. But nowe to returne to Abraham. God commaunded him to forsake his countrie and the religion of the Chaldeis: Wherin first of al he shewed howe hateful that people was to him for renouncing his word, yea, the more fully to punish them, he toke from them the companie of a personage which had knowlege of this diuinitie and truth of his worde. This is it that the Prophets meanes, saying: We haue ministred medicines to Babylon, and yet she hath receiued no cure, and after we haue abandoned her euerie one. &c. Euen so the obstinacie of the Chaldeis against the doctrine of Abraham deserued to be forsake as a thing abandoned of the Physicians.

Abraham chosen chiefe of the people of God.

Secondly it may be saye that Abraham was withdrawne from his countrie, for that for the most part God beares vnto his such proportion of fauor, that he withdrawes them from vil companies, and consequently from the punishments and corrections which he holdes readie to thunder vpō the heads of the wicked. By that meanes he drue Lot out of Sodom, and preserued Helias in the time of famine, shewing in the great care and special prouidence he hath ouer those that serue him. Thirdly in this euocation of Abraham is taught how needfull it is to such as seeke to be of the number of gods people, to be diuided and drawne from vices, and that they fire not vpon the abuses of this world, seeing they ought to be a people separate, and subiect to no communitie or traffique with sinners, and idolaters. For that cause the Scripture calleth the children of God banished and separate from all men. Esaie also exhorteth the faythfull to retyre from the companie of the wicked, but specially such as are Gods seruants and sacrificators, ordeined to accomplish the statutes and commaundements of God. Abraham must haue vs the region of the Chaldeis, vpon the assurance of Gods promises, to make him a guide and leader of a mightie people, and withall to purchase such renoume and fauour, that who blessed that people should be blessed, and who accursed them should partake with the same, and that out of his seede should issue he that should bring felicitie and blessing to all the nations and kinreds of the earth. This promise is a reuiuing of that whiche had bene made to Adam and Heua, whereof the certeintie seemes to be so muche the more great, by howe muche God assigneth the seede out of the which should issue the Messias and sauiour of the world. By this may be considered the great reward that suche may hope for as followe the Lord, being called to the obedience of his commaundementes, and are withdrawne from the delightes and vanities of the worlde to followe bitter thinges, and of hard digestion. For as God sheweth the fauour he beareth them, chaseth them for his seruice, and aduaunceth them aboue all others: so doth he also exercise the particular care he hath ouer

ner his chosen, whome if he auaunce on one behalfe, he doth also priuilege on an other. But notwithstanding all those promises, Abraham forbare not to endure muche, and to beare his crosse with muche trouble, following alwayes the eternall will, to shewe that the bountie and iustice of God are perfect in all his workes. And albeit he liued in greate perplexitie and pouertie, and suffered many tribulations & persecutions, yet god deliuered him, and made him prosper, that he was riche, mightie, and victorious ouer his enimies. This is the true image of the way of God and trueth, and to it God calles vs with milke and delites, as nources vse to intice little children, to the end we know that all his wayes are founded vpon mercie and trueth, and that he is vpright in his word to ỹ iust, leauing vs to follow him by that way, and obey him as knowing his will to be readie inclined to our health and benefit, the same being the true end and purpose for the which he hath chosen vs to serue his turne of vs. Touching the crosse and persecution which Abraham suffered, they were necessarie to his felicitie. For God vseth to proue our fayth, to shewe by effect what loue we beare him, and what patience and charitie we haue, shewing withall howe muche the worlde is our enimie, declaring it selfe for such one in all his actions, and that God onely hath created and redeemed vs, and only ministreth al fauour to vs, to the ende we shoulde call him to our ayde in our necessities, and confesse him, wherby the remorse and feeling we haue of his mercy may inflame vs to yealde him thankes: and that our fayth being tryed by the fire of tribulation and temptation, the vertue of our patience may increase and our hope grow stronger daily to resist sinne and the worlde, vnder assurance and confidence of the bountie of God.

Persecutions are necessarie for our felicities.

So that Abraham a man iust, was led in these accidents, sometimes in glory, and sometimes in tribulation: by the contemplation of whose life, all Christians may knowe howe God handleth his chosen, and of what condition he will chose them, and with what courage he will haue them learne to worshippe him. Abraham, issuing oute

of the land of the Chaldeis, led with him Sara his wife, & Loth his nephue, together with all their familie that was in Haran instructed in the truth of God, according to the reuelations that had beene made to their predecessours: and from thence he went into the region of Chanaan, following the ordinance of God. The Chanaanites were idolaters, and a nation more dedicated to vices then any climate of the world. By which means Abraham leauing one contrie whose people were nothing worth, was led into another, where the inhabitants were worse, and al this by the wil and ordinance of God, whose mercy doth in such sort dispose his actions, that what he takes from some by iustice, he giues to others by his mercy: in such sorte that the ende of his workes is alwayes good, although the wisedome of the worlde esteeme it contrarie.

This was one singular yl amongst other wicked things which the Chaldeis had, that being blessed with the presence and mouthe of a vertuous personage, preaching and teaching them the trueth: yet they made no account of his doctrine, but despised him and his auertisements: and therefore God deprined them of that benefite, wherof they had made themselues vnworthy, by the resistance whiche they shewed against his word.

Touching the Chanaanites, as they were the most wicked race of the world, so they had not as yet the knowledge of the truth: in which respect it pleased the goodnesse of God to communicate it to thē, by the meane of Abraham, whome he led into their countrie: which benefite turned afterwards to their greate condemnation, by reason of their rebellion, stubbernesse, and obstinacie, by the which they prouoked the ire of God against them. Of the contrarie, the fayth and patience of Abraham was well proued amongest this rebellious people, the more to make him seke his fauours in God, who had drawne him out of the land of the Chaldeis.

God had determined to giue the land of Chanaan to the people whome he had chosen in his presence, shewing the greatnesse of his mercie towardes suche as followe him, to

whome

whome he giues land and heritage: and of the contrarie, to shewe his ire against sinners by the punishment which hee made of the Chanaanits and other nations possessing the said land. For this cause he willed that Abraham after the passion of many tribulations, should die in that land, to confirme to him his promise, and to impatronize him of that religion for and in the name of such as should descend of him. And long time after, yea, when it was impossible to men to occupie that land, he gaue that inheritaunce to the children of Israel, to shewe that he was iust, and that his promises were certeine. So that Abraham being at Sichem a towne of Chanaan, God appeared to him and promised to giue ẏ said land to his seede. There Abraham builded an altar & did sacrifice, calling vpon the name of ẏ Lord: there he endured great tribulations, in whiche was established assured testimonie of his faith and patience: and on the other side, the Lords goodnes was with him, deliuering him of his troubles, and communicated that which should happen to his people, reuiuing the alliance made with him: he assured him that in his seede all nations should receiue blessing, and promised that hee should haue a sonne by Sara his wife beeing already aged. Thus the familie of Abraham multiplied from one day to an other, which he gouerned by the preaching of the word, & al to entertaine them in the obseruation of Gods commaundementes and in his feare. The Lord then made alliance with him al wel in his owne name, as for his successors, conteyning these capitulations. First that Abraham and his, for folowing his trueth and the obedience of the same, should be his people, and he would be their God. That the seede of Abraham should serue him and reappose their hope in his promises made to them. That they keepe the Lawes which he calleth iustice, which he had giuen them. Lastly that hee would be their God, and protecte and defende them in this world, and instruct them in the way to obteine the life of the other world, pardoning all their sinnes in fauour and consideration of him which had beene promised for ẏ redemption of mankind, and ordeined to surmount the forces of hell, and

conquer the diuel. In signe whereof he ordeyned that Abraham should be circumcised together with all the male children descending of him and his whole familie, the same serving as a monument and perpetuall memorie of the alliance made betwene God and them, and of the spirituall generation of the sæde of Abraham, whome God adopted for his children in ỳ name of him that was promised, by meane of which adoption this spiritual people should be a continual enimie to the old serpent, and his workes. From that time the people of God more obserued outward ceremonies then they had done. For, besides the sacrifices which they made, they adioyned circumcision, the same serving them as a marke to declare outwardly the profession of their religion, and that they should worship the onely God which had giuen creation, and had promised redemption of their sinnes.

The Authour aunswereth a congratulation sent to him vppon the gift of a Bishoppricke.

I Haue receiued your letter, and do refuse the horse you sent mée, not for that he is vnworthie, but because I am curious, reserving such as you are to giue mée good counsell, and my other more wealthie friendes to minister to my wantes. For that aduersitie is truely vsed, which expects his remedie of richmen, and his consolation from such as are wise. And being in the pension of the prince for so many offices, and nowe raysed to the commodities of a large bishoppricke, I sée not how I can suffer want, nor my friendes to wish me more, since to him that is alreadie satisfied there remaynes no necessitie of further prouidence. The wiseman is contented and expresseth no want, but the minde of the foolish is subiecte to care and thoughts, neuer beeing satisfied, though he flowe in fulnesse, so that

In aduersities rich mē must giue remedie, and wise men minister comfort.

so that his aboundaunce breedes his extreme pouertie and miserie. That man needeth little that measureth his fill according to the neede of kinde, and not after the rage of couetous. For, the nature of man desireth little, but our opinion is neuer satisfied, yea liuing in the flesh, it is hard to suffice the desires of the flesh. It is no small perpleritie to a poore man to aske that he wanteth, but it is a great paine to the rich man to keepe that which he hath too much, seeing to gather riches the rich man is all alone, but to disperse them he hath too much companie. This is one other accident that Fortune bringes with it, that who riseth a foote in authoritie, increaseth most commonly an eine in necessitie: for that nowa dayes our chiefest trauel resteth not so much to furnish our house, as to entertaine and feede our pompes. And albeit euery one is bound to procure that is necessarie for him yet withal he ought to take heede, not to affect or aspire to superfluitie: seeing, if pouertie proue the patience of a good man, aboundance carrieth light spirits into vaine glorie and presumption: yea, many there are, who if they had not fulnesse of wealth, they would not with such swiftnesse followe vice and sinne, for that riches are readie instrumentes to vanitie, and apt cloakes to couer faule actions. I allowe not for all this, that men should be negligent to prouide thinges necessarie for the vse of this life, seeing the needie man can neuer haue to great contentment. But great is Gods goodnes to that man to whome he hath giuen a competent hauiour, enoughe to keepe him from shamefull pouertie: neither suffering want for the necessarie supplie of his life, nor yet wallowing in that aboundance that may leade him to his destruction.

Liuing in the flesh it is hard to suffice the desires of the flesh.

Riches are readie instrumēts to vanitie.

The needie man can neuer haue too great cōtentment.

I am tolde (Sir) of the great pleasure you take, and the many rewardes you haue giuen to the messinger that brought you the newes of my election to a Bishoppricke: wherein I estéeme your liberalitie much, but consent no whitt to the ioy and gladnes you feele: for that, if you knew aswell as I what charge lyeth vppon the gouernement of soules, you would be more sorie for my insufficiencie, then

glad

glad that I haue accepted the dignitie, assuring you that such is the qualitie of gouernement of common weales, and specially that of the Church, that being of many desired, it is of few well exercised. It belonges to him that gouerneth to be learned, the better to knowe what he doth: wise to finde out how he ought to doe it: discrete to attend and take the opportunitie: and resolute in the action of iustice without corruption or feare of any: otherwise he shall but bring paines to his person, and leaue daunger to his common weale. All these conditions may be of one man desired, but they are hardly found to meete in many. For, to speake in trueth and libertie, there is no man so good, in whome is not some fault to be corrected, and many imperfections to be remedied. And therefore for one man to call an other vertuous without flatterie, it is to giue him the greatest title of the world, seeing it is found by experience, that the name of vertuous is of many desired, but of very fewe deserued.

Respectes of a gouernour.

It is not without sorrowe to good men, to see many vaine and glorious minds now a dayes delighted to be honoured, vppon the superscription of letters with these titles; Most high, Most mightie, Most magnificall, or most reuerend, esteeming it to dishonour, if Most vertuous be put in, and leauing that title, not for a noble man, but for personages of meane estate. To such men I aunswere, that to call a man Most high, belonges to a king: to be intituled Most mightie, belonges to a Viceroy, to beare the name of Most magnificall, belonges to a man of great estate: and to be written Righe reuerend, it behoueth him to be a great Prelate: but to bee called Vertuous, it is first requisite that he be good: therefore in the account of reputation, it is more worthie to be called vertuous, then noble or reuerend: for that the one title descends together with the dignitie, and the other is the reward of the vertue which we vse: so that it falles out in good experience, that this title of vertuous is of many desired, and not greatly deserued. I assure you (Sir) I am alreadie so full with the trauel of gouernement, and to be a bishop, that if, as I haue determined it with reason, I coulde conclude it with

It is more worthie to be called vertuous, then noble or reuerend.

opinion,

opinion, I would with as good heart refuse the charge, as others would accept it with gladnes: for that my naturall inclination beares more to seeke out the sweeteneſſe of philosophie, then to trauel in the bitter perplexities of policie. In this many will say I write against my selfe, for that such vaine worldlinges as I am, employ not our skill and studie to search onely mediocritie to liue by, but to gather superfluities to serue our appetites, following not reason but opinion. And I do know many in this world now a dayes, to whom of that litle they haue, there would yet remaine some thing, if they had none to content but themselues: but their endes tending more to satisfie that which their neighbours may say, then to accomplish thinges which they are bound to doe: neither the inheritance of their parents, nor the vse of their friendes can suffice their prodigalitie: and therefore both troublesome, daungerous, and chargefull is the estate of Princes and great Lords: for, that to get riches they are alone, but the diuiding and partition of the same is subiecte to the will of many: yea, in that respecte they are no other then tributaries and subiectes, since that of all that they possesse, most commonly they haue the vse but of the leaſt part. Wherein Marcus Aurelius writing to a deare friend of his, vseth this discourse. Many times it is agreeable enough that a man doe what he would, but neuer is it lawfull to doe that he ought not. For, to make warre against men, is oftentimes glorie, but to be at controuersie with reasons is alwayes attributed to follie. There be many men wise, but more be fooles, and the greateſt foole of all is he, who being at reſt in his house, searcheth with diligence elsewhere, troubles, trauels, and perplexities. For, that for the most part, he reapes no other fruite of the offices and estates whiche hee searcheth abroade, then to suffer continuall paine, care, and griefe at home.

There is no doubt that to be Emperour of Rome, is not a greatneſſe aboue all the estates of the world: but weighing with his countenaunce and maieſtie, the cares and infelicities that are annexed to the seate, there is farre greater

ter securitie to followe a priuate life, then to manage the affaires & traueiles of a kingdome. And because (good Pution) thou art so neere mée in friendship and opinion, I will debate it franckly with thée, though not so much for that thou desirest to know it: yet because it bringes ease to my heart to cõmunicate my fortune, as in all aduersities it is one chiefe comfort when men know the vttermost of their mishappes. But thus was the case. The Emperour Anthonius adopting mée to his sonne in lawe, gaue me to wife his daughter, and for a dowrie endued me with the empire, two thinges very honourable, and euen so not a little troublesome: for that to the gouernement of the Empire is tyed great paine and traueile, and in Faustine my wife is great difficultie of moderation & modestie. Herein thou hast no reason to merueile so much of that I write to thée now, as to wonder with what discretiõ I haue so long time suffered it, assuring thée that the traueiles of the kingdome shorten my life, and the libertie of my wife diminished mine honor. For, she being ye daughter of an emperour, the wyfe of an emperour, hauing withall the help of riches, beautie, and authoritie, forbeares not to vse the priuilege of her libertie, not as she ought, but as she list: this being a propertie annexed to most women, rather to desire libertie, then that they knowe how to vse it: and that which worse is, she will neuer suffer reformation of this error, without the preiudice of mine honour. So, that in a fourme of life, as this is, and with the fellowshippe of a wife, such as is Faustine, it had béene better for mée to haue taken the state of a labourer, then to haue béene rayled to the place of the empire. For that when the reckoning is made, as there is no land so hard which the plough doth not turne vp, so there is no man so humble which will be cõmaunded. I was neuer so well serued, as when I had but one page, and now that I am emperour, all men call me seruants, and yet I am máde seruaunt to them all. Wherein thou mayest see a lamentable difference betweene that I was then, and the condition I liue in now: for when I followed the studie of philosophie, I had contentment of mind, where ye pompes

In aduersities it is one comfort to knowe the vttermost mishap.

Women rather desire libertie, then knowe how to vse it.

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of the empire so carrieth me into strange spirits, that I haue forgot the vertue and science I knew, and now am trauei-led in infirmities which I cannot auoyde. When I was a priuate man, al men held their eyes fixed vpon me, and now that I am a prince, there are few that employ not their tongues against me, the same wel approuing, that as in princes there is alwayes something to be warned, so in subiectes are many thinges to be corrected. All this (good Pution) I debate with thée, to the end, thou owe compassion to my estate past, & beare pitie to that I am now, hauing neither time to communicate with those friends with whome I haue béene brought vp, nor opportunitie to séeke my solace in ẏ sciences I haue learned: for, of the one side the cares of the kingdome do carrie me into thoughtes and heauines, and on the other side the libertie of my wife leaues me in trouble of cõscience.

Thus (Sir) touching the congratulation you sent me for the bishopprick, you are answered by M. Aurelius, by whom you sée, it is more surety to ẏ man of religion and learning to follow the exercise of studie, then to aspire after gouernement & rule: for that in the one he findes contentment with stabilitie, where ẏ other ministreth nothing but passion, perplexitie, and perpetuall subiection to reuolution and chaũge.

There are no greater riches then honour, nor pouertie more intollerable then infamie.

These be the thrée thinges whiche aboue all others holde most affection in men, and whiche euery man kéepes in greatest recommendation: Health of their persons, Plentie of wealth, and Conseruation of honour and renowne: all whiche, as they import not litle to the establishment of our worldly felicitie, so to obteine & kéepe them, I neuer knewe any in whome remayned a desire and delight in life, who would not withall passe many perils to winne them, and suffer no lesse paines to weare them. To

desire

desire these things nature inclineth vs, and no lawe defends vs, since without Health, without Wealth, and without Reputation, life is of no other vse to men, than a tree which bringes forth goodly broade leaues to shadowe the owner from sunne and weather, and yeldes no fruite to fede him and his familie. But of all these three, with all the rest what soeuer, that which is and ought to be most deare, is the honour we haue, and the good renoune we haue gotten: since honour onely is the true stipend and effect of vertue, and all other thinges are the rewards of fortune. Yea, Honour is so high and precious a temper, that without Health & Wealth it is much worth, where those two without that loseth their value. What hath that man that hath not honour? and what can be wanting to him to whome is no lacke of honour? No man in office can administer well, vnlesse he haue honour: and in a common weale, what cannot that man doe who hath reputation and fame? For, honour being the merite of vertue, and vertue the readie instrument to gett affection and loue, he is most worthie of authoritie, whose vertue is best proued, and that man best able to commaunde ouer a common weale, to whom the multitude giues opinion, iudgment and estimation of honour. The man of honour (saith Plato) neuer dieth, where he that is infamous and detected ought not to liue: wherin he made an example in Thelemon the good, and Alcibiades the wicked, the one being the glorie of Greece, and the other the scourge and persecution of Athens. Better is a good name (saith the wise man) then many riches, and better to haue renoune amongst the good sort, then to be Lord ouer the whole world, there beeing no such riches vnder heauen as to be well thought of amonge men.

But such is the infelicitie of mankinde, that much lesse that the counsell of the wiseman is followed, seeing it is not once remembered. For that, what on the right hand & what on the left, what with conscience and what without, men take pleasure to banish honour by little and little from their house, vpon condition notwithstanding to suffer wealth and treasure to enter in great aboundance. In cases of marriage,

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if the woman be vertuous and noble, it is holden for no portion, all men haueing regarde to the value of her substance, and more embracing a thousand ducates in gold, then two thousand good conditions in the partie: yea, we see many maides nowe a dayes rather chosen for their beautie then married for their vertue. But to those matches GOD suffereth to happen many crosses, because who in his choice hath more regard to wealth then to vertue, findes for the most part that which he seareth, and misseth that he desireth. For, if she be rich, her pride and stomache are intollerable: and if she be faire, she will leade him in suspicion of her lightnes: if she be young and not instructed, her nature carrieth her with a swift pace into disobedience and dishonest practises: and if she be old without vertue, there is no more possibilitie to make her tractable, then without water to quench a flame, whose nature is neuer to ceasse burning as long as he findes matter to feede his heate. So that to such as enter marriage with those corrupt affections, as there is small merite of pitie or compassion, so most commonly they want no time to repent, nor matter to complaine vppon. Let your light shine afore men (saith Christe to his disciples) meaning, that to the establishment of their credite was necessarie they had good renoune shining by their sincerities of life, not onely afore God, but euen in the faces of men, the better to warrant their doctrine: for that, as to a good and vertuous life succedes an honest and iust renoune: so, to haue that beleued which is spoken, it importes much that he haue credite that speaketh it: since in that tale is small suertie of truth, in whose reporter is no testimonie of credite. In cases of partialitie & faction, if there be an hundreth infamous men against one man of honour, his vertue onely will carrie him to more authoritie in a common weale, then all the strength or subtiltie of the others without credite. The whole countrie of Aegypt had perished, during the seuen yeares of famine, had it not beene for the credite and opinion which Ioseph had with Pharao. Destruction had falne vppon the citie of Hierusalem by the warres of the Machabeis with their

That tale importes small trueth, whose reporter is of no credite.

neighbours, had not the reputation of Mathias the sacrificator ministred succour and safetie to the whole cõmon weale. If Helie the prophete had not bene wel thought of with the people of Israel, they had all become idolaters, their inclination drawing them vniuersally thereunto. And in the great captiuitie of Babylon, had it not been for the estimation, credite, and holines of life of Daniel, Ezechiel, and the good old Tobias, many Hebrues had become Gentiles, where by the vertue of those men, many Gentiles were conuerted to the Hebrues. So that in the terts of Jesus Christ and the wiseman, is great congruencie of reason, seeing that all these vertuous personages brought stay & comfort to their common weales, not by their wealth, or huge treasures, but by their renoune and credite of honour. *Spectaculum factis sumus Deo, mundo, & hominibus:* The other Apostles and I, saith S. Paul, are set as spectacles from whence euery one drawes his impression, and as whites whereat all men doe shote, and as guides after whome euery one ought to goe, by whome let the magistrates and gouernours of the earth learne to know what life they should lead, what vertue they should vse, and what credite they ought to haue: for, there is no man howe simple soeuer he be, who is not moued more with the good example he seeth, then with all the sweete words that can be spoken to him, since amongst men more doth prouoke to wel doing the action, then the word. And therefore whether he be king that commaundes, or prelate that administreth, or magistrate that gouerneth, or preacher that instructeth, let him first labour to winne opinion, to the end his doctrine may bring forth good fruite: for otherwise for one that praiseth that he saith, there wilbe many hundreth to blame that he doth, since the affections of men are more ledd by example, then by persuasion or conference. *Cœpit Iesus facere & docere,* the redœmer of the world, saith S. Luke, was so aduised in his doinges, and so wonderful in that he spake, that he remained thirtie yeares in recouering good name, afore he published to the world his doctrine. Who lines vertuously, although hee speake neuer a word, yet he preacheth enough with ꝑ example

1. Cor. 4.

Actes 1.

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ple of his life: where the euill liuer how good soeuer he be in tongue and speech, defaceth his vertues with the infamies of his life: yea his preaching is but hypocrisie, and his doctrine but error: since such as speake godly things and do them not, are like to a harpe whiche giues a sound to other and vnderstandeth nothing it selfe. The Turkes, the Iewes, the Indians, and Chaldeis, although they differ from vs in sectes and languages, yet there is no difference in the desire of honour and good renoune, as being inuested in the nature of man to desire to be free, and labour to be honoured: for that of all voluble thinges, there is nothing more deare and precious then credit and renoune: and how holy and perfect soeuer a man be, yet may he be subiect to contemne or reiect the reuerence that men beare him, & the presentes that are giuen him: but touching the credit of his person, and reputation of his good renoune and doctrine, there are none that take pleasure to leaue them, & much lesse will suffer them to decline or diminish: for, otherwise there would not be many followers of their life, and fewer to imitate their doctrine: since, good examples onely draw to perfection, and speech and language be but helpers to the same. Yea, if in one man were mett ꝑ forces of Samson, the wisedome of Solomon, the courage of Cæsar, the riches of Crœsus, the science of Plato, and the cõstancie of Cato: if, with all these, his person stode not in good renoune, and his life commended for good example, he were no other thinge then a painted fire that gaue no heate, or as a faire visor that couered a foule deformed face. Men of honour and vertuous reputation haue many great priuileges, for good men desire to serue them, and ill men are made better by their example: old men are allured by them, and the yonger sort draw counsell from them: yea, on them are fired the eyes, thoughtes, and actions of all sortes of people, in whome their vertues haue wonne such affection, that if they be detected of any crime, yet it is accounted more to misaduenture then to sinne, and being accused of fault, the malice of their aduersarie is sifted, & they cleared by the testimonie of their proper innocencie: for, this is holden a rule among all

Good exãples draw more to perfection thẽ speach.

Commodities comming by men of honor and vertue.

the multitude, that men of vertue and such as haue feare to erre, beare more respect to honour, then either to life or goods: for that either early or late the life dissolueth, and riches must be left, but in true honour and good renoune are layd vp our monumentes of perpetuitie and fame so long as wee liue, and after our death they lift vs to immortalitie. Hector of Troy, Achilles of Greece, Hercules of Thebes, and Cæsar of Rome, had their seasons and meanes to determine their life, but to touch or take away their renounes there was no power to time or death: for that euery one of them buried with him his strength, his riches, and his life, but their renounes remaine subiecte to no prescription, but as doctrines of perpetuitie are closed vp, and reserued to serue the ages and posterities to come. Tell vnto my father all my glorie (sayeth the Patriarche Ioseph to his brethren, the first time he sawe them in Aegypt:) as if he had said, Goe vp my brethren into the countrie of Chanaan, and reioyce my father, telling vnto him the great fauour that Pharao beares mee, together with the glorie, honour, and renoune I haue gotten throughout the land of Aegypt. He did not recommend vnto his brethren to tell his father that he was on liue, that he was married, or that he had children, but onely that he was fauoured and much honoured, esteeming more (for our example) a little good renoune, then his wife, his children, his goods, or his proper life: for that, in the first (being of vertue) is perpetuall stabilitie, where the others being transitorie suffer reuersement and dissolution. When God called Abraham out of his countrie to passe him into ỹ land of promise, he promised to make his name great, and raise his renoune aboue men on ỹ earth: for, my condition (saith God) is not to haue friends if they be not honoured. Wherin we may note that in recompence ỹ Abraham abandoned his countrie, his friends, his goods, & all other his long experienced felicities, yea, being readie liberally to sacrifice his onely sonne: yet god promised him, not patience, restitutiõ of riches, nor long life, but only to giue him honour: a grace not small, comming from ỹ hand of god, & a blessing great to be bestowed on men.

Gene 41.

For,

For, to whome the Lord gives honour for his person, and glorie for his soule, there resteth no more to make that man happie in the world, and much lesse to trouble God with further desires: since riches are to be got by industrie, and fortune to be gouerned by prouidence and policie. And since sickenes and health are subiect to naturall causes, and short or long life limitted by the will and resolution of God, what can be more required for the worldly glorie of man, then to haue honour and credite, which is a treasure better resolued then riches, and cares not what policie can doe against it: Yet triumphes aboue fortune, it is not tyed to the destinie of sickenes, nor subiect to the power of death, but as a thing not transitorie, it carrieth men to immortalitie, and dieth not till heauen and earth come to their accompt: *Spoliauit me gloria mea, & abstulit coronam meam de capite meo.* I know not (saith the holy man Iob) why the Lord hath set me vpon the dunghil replenished with this deformitie of botches, the same making strangers to abhorre mee, & mine owne people to misknow mee. But the thing that I feele with most bitternes, is, that he hath taken my crowne from my head, that is my credite, and defaced my glorie, whiche is mine honour and renowne. Iob, in his affliction, lost seuen thousand sheepe, three thousand camels, fiue hundreth yoke of oxen, and fiue hundreth she asses, yet all these temporall spoyles brought not such griefe vnto him, as the losse of his renoune and credite: for that in this miserable life, there is nothing can be called losse, but when we lose our renoune. What hath that man that hath not honour? What doe we leaue behind vs, if we die not with renoune? Yea we liue in vaine if our life be infamous, since a man of naughtie reputation being slaunderous to himselfe, cannot but be also hurtfull to others: for that to such one the world will giue no faith, nor the wicked any obedience, no man will suffer him as his neighbour, nor any chose him for his friend: seeing, of that qualitie are infamie and leprosie, that with their only conuersation they infecte a man. The man infamous and dishonoured, stands so defaced in opinion and credite, that no man will trust him

Riches to bee got by industrie, and fortune to be gouerned by wisedome.

Iob. 19.

There is no losse in this life, but the losse of good name.

The infamous man not to be trusted.

him, and much lesse to be taken for a publique witnesse: wherein sure the Lawe hath great conformitie with reason, seeing it is not conuenient in wisedome, equitie, and nature to referre our goodes and causes to the trust and direction of him, who cannot keepe his proper honour and reputation. *Libera me Domine ab homine malo, & à viro iniquo, &c.* If I

Psalm. 139.

haue any part in thee, Oh great God of Israel (saith Dauid) I beseech thee defende mee from him that is not a Christian, and from a Christian euil renouned, since most commonly ill renoune is accompanied with ill conscience. Wherein if any will say it is no generall rule that infamie and a corrupt conscience are coupled together (for that many are vniustly slaundered) it may be confessed, but with this addition, that where the conditions of the ill man are instrumentes to detect him, the vertues of ẏ good man keepe him alwayes from slaunder. For, vertue is of that force, that forthwith she disclaymeth, and proueth the fault not to be in the abuse of the good man, but in the enuie that is borne him. *In die illa attenuabitur gloria Iacob, & marcescet pinguedo carnis eius.* Esay speaking of ẏ Synagogue, cryeth out: Oh sorrowful Synagogue and vnhappie house of Iacob, know thou that when hee shall come into the world, that is so much desired of men, thy fatte flesh shall growe leane, and all thy glorie shall be consumed: because thou hast beene a rebel against thy king, and peruerted the Lawe. By the fatte flesh of Israel was ment the patriarches and prophetes: and the glorie of Iacob was the renoune they had by reason of the scepter and priesthoode. And yet in place of this fatnes, came feeblenes and leanesse, and to this renoune succeeded infamie. For, after the passion of Christ they had no more prophetes, and much lesse gathered honour or renoune, the words of Esay beeing truely and fully accomplished, for that after the death of Christ the citie was destroyed, the temple reuersed, the priesthoode finished, the scepter confounded, the Lawe expired, and the whole people so dispersed, that euen till this day, they haue not recouered their honour, nor restored their common weale. Here it is not without mysterie that the Prophete said that

Ill renoune is accompanied with ill conscience.

Esay. 17. figure

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altogether their fattnesse should not be consumed, but that their glorie should decline, and their fatnesse become leane: giuing to vnderstand, that for their greater punishment, God would not altogether destroy that people, but is appointed that through out the world, and to the end of the world, they might wander in sorrow, feare, captiuitie, pouertie, desolation, dishonour, and infamie, neither obseruing lawe, nor acknowledging any king. By all these let vs be taught, how much we are bound to esteeme honour, and with what griefe we ought to feele the losse of it, seeing that as God doth giue it of his speciall grace, so also he takes it away oftentimes for our offences.

God oftentimes takes away our honour for our offences.

The Authour modestly reprehendeth his friend for not yeelding to his request.

I Vnderstand (Syr) that you make no lesse vaunt for denying my request, then I was shamefast to desire you, whiche hath giuen me some occasion of debate eftsoones betweene your authoritie and my iudgement, and your frowardnes and my condition. The man that doth ill is but simply wicked, but he that glorieth in his ill, is not without a spirite of the diuel. For, as the condition of the diuel is inclined to deceiue, so the nature of the vaine and froward is hardly corrected: and therefore to the glorious and obstinate man it is in vaine to giue counsell, and much lesse to minister correction, since where reason yeeldes to selfe will, and sensualitie suffereth no counsell, there the minde is turned into parcialitie, and all the senses resolued into faction. I say thus much vppon the occasion of my request to you, to beare fauour to my friend, to whome much lesse you ministred any friendshippe, seeing you would not once vouchsafe to bestowe an aunswere to my letter, an iniurie whiche I haue felt rather then published, considering that such wronges as this is, ought eyther to be throughly reuenged, or altogether dissembled.

I am not much greeued for that I did intreate you, since the lawe of Nature leanes a libertie for one man to be beholding to an other: and amongest friendes, that request ought not to be intollerable, which bringes as great necessitie to be graunted, as reason to be demaunded, and wherein the greatest prejudice is to him that denyeth it. But touching the wrong you offer to repell me, I wil not inforce it with argument and words, since my heart is not vnarmed with patience to beare it, esteeming it to be a true effect of my vertue, to suffer the iniurie, since you make no conscience to offer it. One of the thinges wherein Cæsar shewed most courage, was, in that he seemed most glad when the Senate had denyed him any thing, affirming that there could not be a greater glorie or renoune to his person, then when he was most importunate to aske, they were most readie to denie, expressing his great power to forbeare that he desired, and their slender reasons to reiect him. The letter I wrote you conteyned thinges indifferent, neither vnmete to be required, nor worthie to be denyed, persuading you altogether to beare more respecte to my friendship, then remembrance to the iniurie my friend hath done you: wherein the griefe be published, and the request I made, ought sure to worke some impression in you, seeing that he is no other then a tyrant, who is not appeased by discrete words, and mollified by pitifull teares, that sufficeing to attonement betweene man and man, which God holdeth for acceptable betweene him and sinners. And albeit no man ought to seeke his reuenge, as by the same to throwe himselfe into destruction: yet to him that is of base condition, it is no dishonour to reuenge, where to the man of might and power, the most honour is to pardon: for that in the world, there is not a more hawtie kinde of reuenge, then to forgiue an iniurie by vertue: notwithstanding I thincke there can be no rule certeine in the action of pardoning or reuenging wronges: for that oftentimes the offence bringes with it that qualitie, that it cannot be pardoned without committing a newe fault.

He is a tyrant that is not appeased by teares.

There can not bee a more high reuenge then to forgiue an iniurie.

But the offence of my friend, for whome I wrote, being not

not of that condition, deserued to be forgiuen in common Christianitie, and to be dissembled of you bearing a reputation to be discrete, wise, and not passioned. Suffer your selfe to be sought to, since euen the greatest Princes are bounde to heare suiters. Mislike not opportunities, when the necessitie of the part deserues to be pitied, and disdaine not to receiue good counsel, since amongst men there can be no greater treasure: otherwayes, if you be rigorous, hard, and obstinate, albeit you may haue the companie of many neighbours, yet assure your selfe to want the solace that is to be loked for in good friends. And so God giue you that you desire, and defend you from that you deserue.

A Letter aduertising parents not to bee careless in the education of their children, and that a man of honestie and vertue ought not to suffer yll resort or lewde demeanour in his house.

WHen Rome stode in her best prosperitie, it was defended that none should doe sacrifice in the temple of Minerua, but only the matrones of the citie. For which cause they vsed to couer the images of men, at suche time as the women prepared to their action of sacrifice. But afterwards their curiousnesse was corrupted by the wickednesse of one Claudius, who watching his opportunitie, defiled the fayre matrone Obelina, as he founde her praying alone: wherein notwithstanding he was accused and detected of sacrilege, yet he so solicited for himselfe by cautels & corruption, that for monie the iudges absolued him, being promised withall by his industrie to possesse in that sort and place the fayrest Ladies in Rome, which accordingly he performed: so that this wretched Claudius, not satisfied with his proper sinne, laboured to giue meane of offence to others: wherein

be brought more slaunder to the Romanes for the practises he made, then for his proper transgression: for that the one was a fault of nature, and the other a wickednesse of corruption. By these I wish you to be advertised, and rebuked, that in your house your children are not onely dishonest, but coverts also to the vices of others, which can not be without their great fault, and your iust infamie: for that in the vices of the children is due cause of imputation to the parentes.

For the vices of the childe the father deserues rebuke

If you know it and dissemble it, your offence is the greater: and if it be not yet come to your knowledge, it turnes to your more negligence and chalenge: for that the wise and honest man ought to kepe more account of the honour of his house, then of the monie of his coffers, since monie maye be redemed with monie, but the spot in a house can not be repurged with all the treasures in a kingdome. The great sacrificator Helie was not punished so much for the sinnes of him selfe, as for that he dissembled the vices of his children: which was iustly layde vpon him: for that the father carefull for the vertue and instruction of his children, ought to feede their infancie with doctrine, and frame their youth with discipline.

Haue regarde to your honour, and watche ouer your flocke. Correct your familie, and abolish from your house infamie, least you deserue to be accused of all, and of none worthy to be excused: assuring you that as a man of reason ought not to be called wise, so long as he suffereth his son to liue in vices: so if you apply not the medicine in time, the disease of your infamie will growe incurable, and as a canker spread through your whole posteritie. It can not be denyed but inclinations muche hurt young people: euen so I holde it the greater yll, not to haunt good and vertuous companies, for that a wicked inclination may be resisted, but an yll customo is seldome forgotten, since there is nothing takes in vs more deeper impression, then the things wherewith we haue continuall familiaritie: so that the father that will well gouerne his childe, ought to holde him short, and cut off the libertie of his fancie, seing that youth is not

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so tender to resist vices, as more hard and incapable to receiue counsell. Many and many be the faults which men commit in this world, whose punishments God transfers to others; except the offence of the father for the ill institution of his child, whose abuses and errours resolue oftentimes to a scourge of the father for his negligence. For, howe many wicks the father hath suffered in the sonne in his youth, so many sorrowes shall afflict his olde age, as a due iustice for that he was carelesse.

The father ought not to suffer his children to bee dissolute.

There is no honest man hath a more cruell enimie, then that poore father who suffereth in his house dissolute children: for that where the hurts we haue by our enimies are causes to decrease our goodes, the vices of our children being losse and spoyle to our honour. And where it may happen that an honest man may not receiue a blowe of his enimie once in his life, the enormities of his owne children are sufficient to make him dye euerie houre. So that the perplexities we haue sometimes by straungers, are digested as thinges happening by strangers, as the wound that is outward may grieue, but not perish the entrailes: but the displeasures passing in our house pearce deeper, and as a martyr languishe the heart euen to death; and therefore, by howe muche the father beareth pitie to his wicked sonne, by so muche he vseth extreme crueltie against him selfe; yea, that day wherein he ministreth not correction to his sonne, that day doth he iniurie of his proper person, and seedes his renoume to question. The Romanes had a lawe called Falcidia, by which the first offence of the childe was pardoned, the seconde punished, and for the thirde he was banished: which lawe if it were essaours reduced to practise in these times, we should not se so many youth runne headlong into vices, nor so many fathers suffer blame for their negligence: but bycause fathers doe not chastise, and mothers too muche suffer, the childe takes boldenesse in vice, lending to the parents occasion to lament, but no libertie of remedie.

Where you write to me that you are olde, and that your infirmities make you wearie, as though you lined so long?

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